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HANDBOOK ON THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

HANDBOOK

ON THE

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

FOR WORKERS' DELEGATIONS

Edited by
A. LOZOVSKY



CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY
OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

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FOREWORD

The purpose of this *Handbook* is to give the foreign worker some idea of the nature and character of the Soviet trade union movement.

The Soviet trade union movement bears a certain impress of its own which has been lent it by the character of the development of the labour movement in Russia in tsarist times and, in particular, by the circumstance that for twenty years the working class has been the ruling class in the Soviet Union. By abolishing the capitalist system and converting the land, mills, factories and the entire system of transportation into the property of the whole people, the working class of the Soviet Union created conditions for its material prosperity and cultural growth such as the working class of no capitalist country can possibly possess. In order to achieve the tremendous results it did and in, historically speaking, so short a time, it had to create such organizations and to direct them in such a way as to ensure that the efforts of the working population of the country would all make for the achievement of one aim, the aim set by the Great October Socialist Revolution, *viz.*, the building of Socialism.

In the course of its growth, the working class of Russia created three fundamental organizations: the Communist Party, which embraces the vanguard of the working population; the Soviets, which embrace the whole working population of town and country; and the trade unions, which embrace the workers, office employees and intellectuals. The fact that proper mutual relations have been maintained between these three organizations is the chief reason for the tremendous successes the Soviet Union is able to record in the twentieth year of its existence.

The Communist, or Bolshevik, Party was steeled and tempered in the ideological and organizational struggle against all its enemies in the course of three revolutions. It is the leading political force in the country. It was the Bolshevik Party that reared and fostered the mass working-class movement in tsarist Russia. It was the Bolshevik Party that began to create the trade unions and that trained them in the struggle against capitalism, tsarism, the

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Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and Rights (Tomsky and Co.). It was under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin that the working class waged the struggle in the first revolution in 1905 and in the February Revolution in 1917. In the October Revolution, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working class followed by the millions of working people of town and country accomplished the Socialist revolution and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

(Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Civil War was brought to a successful conclusion, a huge socialist industry was built up, agriculture was collectivized, and the material well-being and cultural level of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. were raised to unprecedented heights, the exploitation of man by man was abolished for all time.) Socialist society was in the main built. That is why the Bolshevik Party enjoys the profound love and confidence of the people, that is why its authority is so great among the masses and why it exercises undisputed leadership in all the organizations of the masses (Soviets, trade unions, etc.).

The enemies of the Soviet Union and of the international working-class movement try to make out that the leadership of the Bolshevik Party is based upon compulsion and ruthless discipline. But this assertion is false. Discipline within the Communist Party is conscious discipline; membership of the Party is not compulsory; it is regarded as a matter of honour; and millions of toilers strive for this honour, and when they join the ranks of the Party submit to the discipline established by the Party at its congresses, general meetings and so forth.

Trade union membership is not compulsory in the U.S.S.R. The trade unions are voluntary organizations and trade union membership is a matter of personal choice. However, the vast majority of the workers, office employees and intellectuals belong to the trade unions, for the trade unions look after the material and cultural interests of their members. The trade unions constitute one of the organizations on which the whole system of the Soviet State rests. The trade unions, of course, have their own discipline, which is laid down in the rules of each particular union and is determined by the fact of its affiliation to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (A.U.C.C.T.U.).

The citizens of the U.S.S.R., having created and defended the

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Soviet State, their own State, a workers' and peasants' State, naturally submit to its discipline and laws. In this State, where there are no landlords, bankers and capitalists, and where the land and implements and means of production belong to the whole people, discipline is labour discipline, a discipline created by the people themselves. This labour discipline, which the Soviet trade unions have always striven to inculcate, follows from the new, Communist attitude towards labour. As to the Soviets, active participation in the election of the toilers' deputies is the public duty of every Soviet citizen, a duty which he voluntarily and willingly performs. The Stalin Constitution guarantees the right of every citizen to participate in the elections, but imposes no penalties for refraining from doing so. Soviet citizens are politically enlightened enough to understand their public duty and therefore take an active part in the elections. Nobody is compelled to vote. Even before the new Constitution in the U.S.S.R. was adopted the proportion of electors actually voting in elections was higher than in any other country in the world.

There is one other important feature of the Soviet trade unions. The U.S.S.R. is a country of numerous nationalities; it consists of eleven Union Republics and a large number of autonomous republics, national regions, national areas, etc. Nevertheless, the trade union movement in the U.S.S.R. is a united one. The very character and structure of the Soviet State affords full opportunity to every nationality to display its national characteristics and talents and at the same time welds the efforts of all the nationalities in the common task of building Socialism. The Soviet trade unions are so constructed that despite the centralized form of organization of each of them, the cultural interests of the workers of every nationality are guaranteed. Newspapers and literature are published in the language of each particular nation, and they have their own national clubs, theatres, schools and other cultural and educational institutions.

The Soviet trade unions differ in many respects from the trade unions of capitalist countries, but it would be a mistake to conclude from this that there can be nothing in common between the trade unions of capitalist countries and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. Only enemies of the international working-class movement can assert this. The distinguishing features of the Soviet trade unions, which arose from the victorious October Socialist Revolution, far from acting as a barrier between the Soviet trade union

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movement and the trade union movement in capitalist countries, draw them together in a closer bond. Why? Because the history and experience of the Soviet trade unions may be very instructive for the trade unions of capitalist countries, where the working class has not yet overthrown the exploiting classes. The vast experience gained by the working class and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. may be a veritable treasure house for the international proletariat. Close organic contact between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class of capitalist countries tends in a large degree to fortify the workers of capitalist countries, who still have to wage their last decisive fight with their class enemies.

There is no more consistent and determined enemy of fascism and of the capitalist system that gave rise to fascism than the working class of the Soviet Union. And therefore there is no more loyal and consistent ally of the workers of capitalist countries in their struggle against fascism and war than the working class of the U.S.S.R.

This *Handbook* gives some information about the various aspects of Soviet trade union activity. The information is, of course, by no means exhaustive, and, indeed, it is impossible in a book of this size to give an exhaustive description of the comprehensive activities of trade unions which have an aggregate of twenty-two million members.

The purpose of this *Handbook* is to give only an idea, a rough sketch, of the Soviet trade unions: their daily activities, the way they administer social insurance affairs, their activities in the sphere of labour protection, education and culture, the organizational structure of this the mightiest trade union organization in the world, etc.

Foreign workers who desire to make a closer study of any of these questions or of the activities of the Soviet trade unions as a whole should apply to the original sources and acquaint themselves with the voluminous literature on the subject.

We shall consider that our aim has been achieved if after reading this *Handbook* our class brothers from capitalist countries conceive a greater interest in the Soviet trade union movement and in the means and methods by which the working class of the Soviet Union achieved its historic victories.

A. LOZOVSKY

Moscow, August, 1937

I. BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW

The first trade union organizations in tsarist Russia arose at a comparatively late date. Mass trade union organizations appeared for the first time during the 1905 Revolution. The Russian trade unions had a total of about 100,000 members by the end of 1905, and of 200,000 members by the end of 1906. But the brutal political reaction that set in after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution prevented all further growth of the trade union movement. The police savagely suppressed their activities, wrecked their headquarters, confiscated their funds and arrested and exiled their leaders. It was only with difficulty that the trade union movement managed to survive despite all the obstacles placed in its way by the tsarist autocracy. But a marked revival of the trade union movement began in the years 1911-13 in conjunction with the general revival of the revolutionary movement in the country. The trade unions became more active owing to the increased influence of the Bolshevik Party within them. The Bolsheviks had always attributed the greatest importance to the trade unions and had worked to secure their active political participation in the struggle against tsarism and capitalism (The Bolsheviks had been the initiators of most of the trade unions that arose in 1905). Within the trade unions they waged an active fight against the Mensheviks, who endeavoured to confine the activities of the unions to peaceful demands for petty sops and concessions from the capitalists. The Mensheviks preached conciliation with capital. They advocated the detrimental theory that the trade unions must observe "neutrality" in the political struggle of the working class. But thanks to the efforts of the Bolsheviks among the workers, the overwhelming majority of the trade unions adopted a revolutionary position and took an active part in the political struggle, regarding the Bolshevik Party as their vanguard and leader.

In the period 1911-13 the influence of the Bolsheviks within the trade union movement steadily grew and the activities of the trade unions assumed an increasingly revolutionary character. The policy of the Mensheviks encountered stubborn resistance within

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the trade unions. The leading bodies of the larger trade unions consisted of Bolsheviks, and this fact determined the militant, revolutionary spirit which inspired the Russian unions. Through the trade unions, the Bolshevik Party inculcated a militant spirit in the working class and prepared it for a Socialist revolution, at the same time continuing the struggle for the immediate economic demands of the workers.

(During the World War the trade union movement was smashed. On the eve of the February Revolution in 1917, there were only very few trade union organizations. After the February Revolution factory committees began to spring up everywhere and the trade unions grew very rapidly)

Four months after the February Revolution the Third Trade Union Conference was held (the First had taken place in 1905 and the Second in 1906). One and a half million organized workers were represented at this conference.

The majority of the delegates at the Third Trade Union Conference consisted of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Bolshevik delegates represented large working-class centres such as Leningrad, Moscow and Ivanovo and the larger branches of industry (metal and coal). The Bolsheviks formed a compact minority at the conference. The composition of the leading body of the Russian trade union movement elected at the Third Conference—the first All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions—corresponded to this alignment of forces: 19 of its members were Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and 16 Bolsheviks. The chairman of the A.R.C.C.T.U. was a Menshevik, the secretary a Bolshevik.

In the interval between the Third Conference and the October Revolution, the influence of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries among the masses steadily declined, especially after the events of July 1917, when, at the orders of the Provisional Government and with the active backing of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, a peaceful demonstration of workers and soldiers in Petrograd was fired upon. The reason the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries steadily lost influence among the masses was because these parties favoured fighting the imperialist war to a victorious conclusion, and because they and the trade union leaders associated with them hindered the development of the strike movement, fought against the formation of Red Guard detachments in the factories, were opposed to increases in wages and workers' control over production—in a word, they were

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opposed to the further development and extension of the revolution.

The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries were of the opinion that the revolution should stop at its bourgeois-democratic stage, whereas the Bolsheviks considered that it should be carried further, that the power of the landlords and capitalists should be overthrown and the whole wealth of the country expropriated and made the property of the whole people

By the time of the October Socialist Revolution an overwhelming majority of the trade unions already backed the Bolsheviks, as did also the factory committees which arose in the early days of the February Revolution and the central factory committee councils which were set up in every city. All the trade unions, except the trade unions of office employees, took an active part in the October Revolution, and at the First Trade Union Congress, which met at the beginning of January 1918, the Bolsheviks had an overwhelming majority. Less than one-fifth of the delegates backed the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

(This Congress discussed the question of what the attitude of the trade unions should be towards the October Socialist Revolution. Was the policy of the trade unions towards the workers' state to be the same as it had been towards the capitalist state, or were the trade unions to co-operate with the Soviet State and help achieve the aims for which the Socialist Revolution had been made? A stern struggle was waged around this question both before the trade union Congress and at the Congress itself, where the Bolshevik position won majority support.

(By gaining the overwhelming majority at the trade union Congress the Bolsheviks became the only organizing and leading force in the Russian trade union movement.) At that time there were no other trade unions on Russian soil except those which the Bolsheviks won from the Mensheviks, and the attempts of certain Right Social-Democratic trade union leaders to dispute this fact are utterly absurd.

(The Second Trade Union Congress, held in 1919, expressed its opposition to the proposal that the trade unions should be placed under State control, a proposal which had some backing among the delegates at the First Trade Union Congress and which had found reflection in its resolution. (Lenin spoke at the Second Congress against the trade unions being placed under State control.)

Attention should be drawn to an important feature that always distinguished the Russian trade union movement, whether in tsar-

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ist times, before the October Revolution, or after the October Revolution. The trade unions were always united; that is to say, the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and anarchists all worked within the same trade union organizations where they competed with each other for influence over the members. Never, when they were in the minority, did the Bolsheviks seek to form their own separate unions. Their opinion was that as the trade unions were mass organizations they should embrace workers of all trends. But they always fought systematically and stubbornly for their own policy, *viz.*, democratic elections of trade union bodies and the development of trade union democracy, and in this they gained position after position in the Russian, and then the Soviet, trade union movement.

(The next important stage in the development of the Soviet unions was the trade union discussion which broke out at the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921.) At that time the Civil War in Russia had come to an end. After the great strain and tension of the war period, it was necessary to arouse the initiative of the masses still more, to establish proper relations between the workers and peasants, and in this way to create conditions favouring the rapid recovery of the exhausted economic forces of the country. Trotsky demanded that the trade unions should be militarized; he was opposed to democracy in the trade unions and did not consider that it was the duty of the unions to cater to the material and cultural needs of the masses. He denied that the trade unions were a school of Communism and sought to convert them into an ordinary branch of Government administration. The sum total of Trotsky's views on the trade unions arose from his lack of faith in the creative powers of the working class, his position on the rupture between the working class and the peasantry, his denial of the possibility of building Socialism in a single country, all of which views landed Trotsky in the camp of outright counter-revolution. Bukharin and his followers in actual fact held the same position. A syndicalist group also arose, the so-called "Workers' Opposition," headed by Shlyapnikov. This group demanded that the trade unions take over the management of industry and advocated the class struggle of the trade unions against the Soviet power.

Against these extremely dangerous, anti-proletarian and counter-revolutionary views was set up what was known as the Platform of the Ten. This platform advocated broad democracy in the trade unions; the election of and the right to recall trade union

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bodies; it demanded that the trade unions should serve the daily needs and cultural requirements of the workers; it opposed bureaucratic, dictatorial methods, and the appointment of officials instead of their election; it demanded that the trade unions should co-operate with the Soviet Government and accept the policy of the Communist Party. The Platform of the Ten (Lenin, Stalin, Sverdlov, Lozovsky and others) was approved at the Tenth Party Congress by an overwhelming majority. It also secured the support of the vast majority of the trade unions throughout the Soviet Union. Thus the campaign of Trotsky, Bukharin and the "Workers' Opposition" against the trade unions was defeated.

At the Fourth Trade Union Congress in 1922 Tomskey opposed the policy of close co-operation between the Soviet trade union movement and the Communist Party. Tomskey was not elected by the Fourth Congress to the central trade union body, the A.U.C.C.T.U. But when a year and a half later Tomskey admitted that he was in the wrong, he was reinstated on the A.U.C.C.T.U. But it turned out that Tomskey had only formally admitted his error; he continued to pursue his Right line within the Soviet trade unions, an obviously wrong line and one that had been universally condemned. He carefully concealed his views, but they were divulged in 1927-28 when he came out as one of the leaders of the Rights in opposition to the industrialization of the country and fought the collectivization of agriculture, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, and Socialist construction. The rapid industrialization of the country was a matter of vital importance to the working class and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. The views of Tomskey and the Rights therefore aroused a storm of protest within the Soviet trade union movement, which found expression at the Eighth Trade Union Congress held in December 1928.

Tomskey attempted to use the trade unions as a weapon against the Party. The Communist trade unionists attending the Second Plenum of the A.U.C.C.T.U. (May 29-June 1, 1929) met separately and expressed the following opinion about Tomskey, Rykov, Bukharin and the small group of trade unionists who supported them:

"The fundamental error in the position of the Rights is the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theory that the kulaks would peacefully merge into Socialism, and their failure to comprehend the dialectics of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is precisely this that causes the Rights to misunderstand the present phase of the class struggle and to underestimate, and even reject, the new production forms of alliance between the working class and the greater mass of the peasantry; it is this that causes them to slander the Party by asserting

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that it is conducting a policy of 'military-feudal exploitation of the peasantry,' and to put forward practical proposals that are in fact only calculated to strengthen the capitalist elements in the country. . . .

"Instead of mobilizing the masses to overcome the difficulties of the reconstruction period, they are driven into a panic by these difficulties; instead of extensively working to enlist the mass of working men and women in the work of economic construction, Socialist rationalization, the raising of labour productivity and strengthening of labour discipline, they attempt to act as a screen for craft interests and the sentiments of the backward sections of the working class; instead of vigorously and consistently developing proletarian self-criticism in the trade unions, they indulge in formulas and reservations calling for caution in the development of self-criticism and hampering the development of the activity of the masses in combating bureaucracy and abuses in the trade unions, the degeneration of certain links of the trade union apparatus and their divorce from the masses. Instead of increasing the influence of the proletariat in the countryside and getting the trade unions to help in reconstructing agriculture along Socialist lines, they endeavour to limit the functions of the trade unions in the countryside and to cultivate among them a spirit of aloofness, which has found expression, in particular, in the weak influence exercised by the trade unions on public life in the countryside, in an underestimation of the importance of work among the agricultural labourers, etc.; instead of working extensively in the sphere of the political enlightenment and class education of the workers, especially of their backward sections, they frequently ignore cultural and educational work and the general class aims of the proletariat and fail to understand the necessity of waging a determined struggle against petty-bourgeois influences among the backward workers."

The Eighth Congress severely condemned the position of Tomsky and his followers and did not elect them to the leadership of the Soviet trade union movement. Tomsky and his friends were highly offended with the Party and the trade unions because of this, but the working class of the Soviet Union has never paid attention to such sentiments: there is no such thing as permanent trade union chairmen and secretaries in the U.S.S.R. Trade union functionaries in the U.S.S.R. are not allowed to pursue their own personal policy; they must carry out the decision of the trade union congresses and must obey the will of the masses, and if they go against the masses they are removed from their posts.

After the Rights had been removed, the Soviet trade union movement began to make rapid progress. This progress was associated with the First and Second Five-Year Plans. The Soviet trade unions performed a great amount of work during this period. The Ninth Trade Union Congress (April 1932) adopted a resolution in connection with Comrade Shvernik's report, which stated:

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"The A.U.C.C.T.U. and the trade union movement as a whole have been very successful in enlisting the masses in the work of Socialist construction and in more effectively catering to their material and cultural needs."

This resolution goes on to draw attention to the shortcomings of the Soviet trade union movement. But the trade unions did not carry out all the recommendations of the Ninth Trade Union Congress on how to overcome their weaknesses and shortcomings as rapidly as possible. The result was that by the middle of the Second Five-Year Plan period a number of unfavourable symptoms became noticeable in the work of the trade unions: they were not keeping pace with the development of industry and the national economy or with the growth of the working class. The demands of the working class were growing rapidly, but the trade unions were seriously falling behind in coping with them. This explains the severe self-criticism to which the Sixth Plenum of the A.U.C.C.T.U. (April-May 1937) subjected the work of all the Soviet trade unions and of the A.U.C.C.T.U. itself.

The Sixth Plenum defined the defects in the work of the trade unions and their causes as follows:

"The leading trade union organs, not clearly realizing the nature of the new conditions and their own new duties, have been lagging behind the broad sweep of Socialist construction and have become divorced from the trade union masses, the cultural level and political activity of which have risen immensely.

"It is this fact that the leading trade union bodies are lagging behind Socialist construction and have become divorced from the trade union masses that constitutes the peculiar crisis that has arisen in the trade unions.

"Far from working more intensively to satisfy the cultural and social demands of the workers, the leading trade union officials have been thrown off their balance by the growing cultural demands of the union members and have lost all taste for mass work and for catering to the cultural and social needs of the workers.

"The leading trade union officials have lost sight of the fact that it is one of the most important duties of the trade unions under the Soviet system to care for the cultural and social requirements of trade union members and for the improvement of cultural and mass work. Instead of attentively and efficiently working for the improvement of the services catering to the cultural and social needs of the workers (restaurants, dwelling houses, hospitals, clubs, rest homes, kindergartens, nurseries, etc.), leading officials often avoid these questions altogether or just pay lip service to them."

This severe self-criticism was followed by a detailed enumeration of the defects in all branches of work of the Soviet trade unions. The Plenum placed on record that the trade unions were

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not displaying sufficient political vigilance with regard to the enemies of the labour movement. It drew attention to the bad state of work in the sphere of social insurance, labour protection, educational and cultural work, and so forth.

This was a severe and ruthless exposure of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Soviet trade unions. In order to eliminate these defects and to secure a thorough improvement in the work of the trade unions, the Plenum decided that new elections by secret ballot of all trade union bodies should be held and took measures to ensure extensive self-criticism and the display of wide initiative by the masses.

It was to be expected that the enemies of the Soviet trade unions would try to make play of this severe self-criticism. Particularly vociferous in this respect were the Right elements who head the trade union movements in England, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, etc. These people have never indulged in self-criticism themselves and have never divulged their mistakes and weaknesses in public. They consider that trade union leaders should conceal their defects and especially should conceal from the masses what the leaders are doing. How far the enemies of the Soviet trade union movement are removed from self-criticism is shown by the fact that after the death of the Chairman of the Swedish Trade Union Alliance, it was found that he had left a fortune of over 100,000 kronor and that he had been a shareholder in a number of companies. Could his colleagues, working with him year after year, have failed to see that this man had gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie? Could they have failed to notice all symptoms of his money-making "talents"? They must have noticed them but they did not think it necessary to divulge the fact.

One could cite scores of cases from the history of the trade union movement in other countries showing how the leaders shield each other and endeavour in every way to hush up the dark sides of trade union work. The Soviet trade unions have always been hostile to such traditions.

Trade union leaders must always be in the limelight of public opinion and must be controlled by the masses at every step. If they make involuntary mistakes, the masses will then correct them; if they persist in their mistakes, the masses will remove them. Merciless self-criticism is an indispensable condition for the improvement of trade union work and serves to strengthen the ties between the leaders of the trade unions and their members.

II. SOVIET TRADE UNION STRUCTURE

① Trade unions in the Soviet Union are organized on industrial lines. This means that all those employed in a given enterprise (factory, workshop or office), irrespective of profession, belong to one trade union. Take, for example, an agricultural machinery factory. Various professions are employed in such a factory: fitters, turners, engineers, technical workers, office workers, etc. But they all belong to the same trade union—the Agricultural Machinery Workers' Union. Institutions which do not serve the industry itself, but which cater to the workers employed in it (factory dispensaries, restaurants, etc.), belong to the unions of their own profession. Thus, for example, the dispensary employees belong to the Medical and Sanitary Workers' Union and the restaurant employees to the Catering Workers' Union. If the factory takes on a worker who was formerly employed, let us say, in the textile industry and belonged to the Cotton Textile Workers' Union, he must transfer to the Agricultural Machinery Workers' Union. On transferring from one trade union to another, the member retains his trade union standing and is not obliged to pay a new entrance fee. The A.U.C.C.T.U. decides to which union the employees of each factory or office should be attached, depending on the branch of production in which it is engaged.

There are altogether 162 trade unions in the U.S.S.R. with a total of 21,999,900 members (on April 1, 1937), constituting 84.6 per cent of the total number of employed persons in the country.

All trade union bodies—the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the central committees of the various unions, the territorial and regional committees of the unions, the factory and local committees, the shop committees (or shop trade union organizers), and the group trade union organizers—are elected by secret ballot. Elections are held at regular intervals and all trade union officials are liable to recall.

[All elected trade union bodies and their officials are accountable to the members of the union, to whom they must make regular re-

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ports on their activities. If the trade union body, or a trade union official, works badly, violates trade union democracy, does nothing to help raise Socialist labour productivity, evinces a callous attitude to the needs and demands of trade union members, the latter are fully entitled to demand new elections and to elect a new body or official in their place even though their term of office has not expired. All that is required is that the demand for new elections should be supported by not less than one-third of the trade union membership served by the given body. New elections of trade union bodies or officials before the expiration of their term of office may also be demanded by a higher trade union body.

Decisions of higher trade union bodies are binding on lower trade union organizations.

All trade union bodies and officials, as well as delegates to congresses and conferences, are elected by secret ballot.

Candidates for primary trade union bodies (factory or local [office] committees, etc.) are nominated by the members of the trade union in the given factory or office at their general meetings

Candidates to higher trade union bodies (the A.U.C.C.T.U. and the central territorial or regional committee of a union) are nominated directly at congresses or conferences by the delegates.

Every trade union member at a general meeting and every delegate at a congress enjoys the full and unlimited right to nominate candidates for trade union bodies, to move their rejection and to criticize them.

The candidatures of persons nominated for trade union bodies or as delegates to congresses or conferences are discussed individually and voted on individually by secret ballot. The trade union members elect committees of tellers to count the vote. Before the vote is taken the tellers explain the order of procedure in voting to the members of the union. The votes are counted by the tellers in a separate room which no one else is allowed to enter during the counting. After the votes are counted, the tellers report the result to the meeting. A candidate nominated for a trade union body, or as delegate to a congress or conference, is considered elected if he receives an absolute majority of the votes, but not less than 50 per cent of the number of members present at the meeting, congress or conference.

The highest directing organ of the trade union movement in the U.S.S.R. is the All-Union Trade Union Congress.

* A.T.C. 20

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All-Union Trade Union Congresses, which are held periodically, lay down the further tasks of the Soviet trade union movement in accordance with the general tasks of the workers of the U.S.S.R.

The agenda of a congress, the number of delegates and the procedure of electing delegates are determined by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and are communicated to the Central Committees of the various unions three or four months prior to the date of the congress.

For the purpose of directing the trade union movement in the intervals between congresses, the All-Union Trade Union Congress elects an All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (A.U.C.C.T.U.) which is the highest trade union directing body in the intervals between congresses. The All-Union Trade Union Congress also elects an Auditing Commission to keep check on the financial and business affairs of the A.U.C.C.T.U.

The number of members of the A.U.C.C.T.U. and of the Auditing Commission is determined directly by the All-Union Trade Union Congress.

The A.U.C.C.T.U. summarizes the activities of the trade unions, directs the work of the unions in accordance with the decisions of the All-Union Trade Union Congress, and represents them in the Red International of Labour Unions and at international congresses and conferences. The A.U.C.C.T.U. is accountable for all its activities to the Trade Union Congress, to which it must report.

The day to-day work of the Soviet trade unions is directed by the Presidium and Secretariat of the A.U.C.C.T.U., which are elected at the plenums of the A.U.C.C.T.U. The number of members of the Presidium and the Secretariat is determined by the plenum of the A.U.C.C.T.U.

The A.U.C.C.T.U. has the following departments and sectors to deal with the various branches of trade union work:

1. Organization and Instruction Department, which includes the Trade Union Personnel Sector and the Information Sector

2. Wages and Production Department

3. Cultural Department, which includes a Club and Library Sector, a Political Education Sector and a Trade Union Schools and Courses Sector

4. Social Insurance Department

5. Labour Protection Department

6. Foreign Relations Department

7. Sanatorium and Health Resort Department

8. Tourist Department

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9. ~~Financial Sector~~
10. ~~Accounting and Statistical Sector~~
11. ~~Business Management~~
12. ~~Engineers' and Technical Workers' Bureau~~
13. ~~Sports Bureau~~
14. ~~Complaints' Bureau~~
15. ~~Proletarian Student Bureau~~
16. ~~Institute of Scientific Research on T. U. Movement~~
17. ~~Trade Union Academy~~

The work of all the departments and sectors of the A. U. C. C. T. U. is directed by the Presidium and Secretariat.

The highest directing body of an industrial trade union is its All-Union Congress. The agenda of the Congress, the basis of representation at the Congress and the procedure of electing delegates are determined by the Central Committee of the Union and communicated to the local trade union organizations not later than two months prior to the date of the Congress.

The All-Union Congresses of an industrial trade union are held periodically. They lay down the immediate tasks of the union, endorse or amend its rules and elect a Central Committee to direct the work of the union in the intervals between congresses and an Auditing Commission to control the financial and business activities of the Central Committee. The number of members of the Central Committee and of the Auditing Commission is determined by the Congress.

In the intervals between congresses, the Central Committee of the union, on the basis of the decisions of its congresses and the instructions of the A. U. C. C. T. U., directs the affairs of the union and is its supreme directing body.

At its plenary meetings, the Central Committee endorses the estimates and the social insurance budget of the union and hears reports on their fulfilment, establishes contact with kindred trade unions in other countries and represents the members of the union in government and public organizations.

The direction of the day-to-day work of the republican, territorial and regional committees and of the local trade union organizations of a union is exercised by the Presidium of the Central Committee which is elected by the Plenum of the Central Committee from among its own members.

The number of members of the Presidium is determined by the Plenum of the Central Committee.

To direct and assist local trade union organizations in the va-

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rious branches of their work, the Central Committee of the union has the following departments (the structure of the Presidium of the Heavy Machine Building Workers' Union is taken as typical):

1. Social Insurance and Welfare Department
2. Labour Protection Department
3. Cultural Department
4. Organization and Instruction Department
5. Wages and Production Department
6. Bookkeeping Department
7. Statistical and Information Department
8. Business Management
9. Central Bureau of Student T.U. Organizations
- 10.* Central Bureau of Engineers' and Technical Workers' Sections
11. Sports Department

The Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of a union report on their activities to the congresses of the union, and the Presidium of the Central Committee reports to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the union.

In each republic, territory and region, the highest directing body of an industrial union is the conference of the union.

Conferences are held periodically and elect the republican, territorial or regional committee of the union, as the case may be, which directs and assists the lower organizations of the union in accordance with the decisions of the conference and the instructions of the Central Committee of the union.

In the individual establishments (factory, office, etc.), the highest trade union body is the general membership meeting of the union.

All questions (with the exception of elections of the trade union bodies or of delegates to congresses) are decided at general membership meetings of the union by a simple majority vote, but not less than the votes of fifty per cent of the members present at the meeting. Such decisions are binding on all the trade union members in the given establishment.

Decisions of general membership meetings which contravene the rules of the union may be annulled by a higher trade union body.

General meetings of trade union members in an establishment discuss and decide trade union questions, examine and approve the budget of the factory (local) committee and the social insurance budget of the establishment, hear reports on the fulfilment of these budgets, and elect the factory (local) committee and the auditing commission.

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Elections of a factory (local) committee are deemed valid when not less than two-thirds of the trade union members employed in the given establishment are present at the general meeting at which the elections are held. Elections held without the necessary quorum of two-thirds of the trade union membership are annulled by the higher trade union body, which appoints new elections.

Factory (local) committees are set up in establishments employing not less than 25 trade union members.

On October 1, 1936, there were 178,016 factory and local committees directly connected with the Central Committees or regional committees of unions. On December 1, 1936, the factory and local committees of 156 trade unions had a total of 757,661 members.

The factory (local) committee of an establishment conducts all the trade union affairs in the establishment, assigns trade union duties to the members, organizes Socialist competition and the Stakhanov movement and directs and assists the shop committees and the trade union group organizers.

A factory (local) committee sets up the following bodies in order the better to serve the interests of trade union members (the structure of a factory committee in the Heavy Machine Building Workers' Union is taken as typical):

1. Social Insurance Council (7-15 members), headed by the chairman of the factory committee. The council also enlists the services of doctors, insurance delegates and representatives of the factory management.

The Social Insurance Council controls the work of the medical institutions, dietetic restaurants, kindergartens, rest homes, sanatoriums, etc.

2. Labour Protection Commission (5-15 members), which supervises the observance of the labour protection laws and regulations and the expenditures of funds assigned for this purpose. The commission enlists the services of the labour inspectors, Stakhanovites, engineers and technical workers.

3. Production Commission, which summons regular production conferences of the staff, fosters Socialist competition and Stakhanov methods among trade union members and supervises the fulfilment of Socialist competition agreements.

4. Wages Commission, which takes part in the settlement of wage questions.

5. Cultural Commission (5-15 members), which has charge of

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cultural and educational work among the employees of the enterprise.

Moreover, the factory (local) committee appoints its representative to the Rates and Conflicts Commission.

Each commission is headed by a member of the factory committee, and the committee makes regular reports on its activities to the members of the union and the higher trade union body.

In addition to the factory (local) committee and its commissions, there are shop committees (or shop trade union organizers) and group trade union organizers in factories and offices. Shop committees are set up in establishments which have shops employing not less than 100 trade union members each. A shop committee is elected at the general meeting of the trade union members employed in the shop.

On December 1, 1936, there were 39,153 members of shop committees in 156 trade unions.

A shop committee directs all the trade union activities of the given shop; it fosters Socialist competition and Stakhanov methods among the trade union members, directs the trade union group organizers and the dues collectors and carries on educational and cultural work among its members. In shops employing more than 300 trade union members, commissions analogous to those of the factory committee are set up. In shops employing less than 300 trade union members, the shop committee appoints from among its members a cultural organizer, a labour inspector, an insurance delegate and a representative to the Rates and Conflicts Commission.

In shops employing less than 100 trade union members, a shop trade union organizer is elected at a general meeting of trade union members; to assist him a cultural organizer, a labour inspector, an insurance delegate and a representative to the Rates and Conflicts Commission of the shop are also elected. The shop trade union organizer directs the general trade union activities in the shop. Shop committees or shop organizers must report regularly on their activities to the trade union members and to the factory committee.

Primary trade union organization.
The primary trade union organization is the trade union group, consisting of the trade union members working in a factory brigade or gang. A trade union group may consist of from 5 to 35 members.

A group organizer is elected at a general meeting of the trade union group.

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On December 1, 1936, there were 413,777 group organizers in 156 trade unions.

The group organizer directs the trade union activities of the group and the work of the cultural organizer, the insurance delegate and the dues collector of the group, all of whom are also elected at general meetings of the group.

Applications for membership in the union are made through the groups.

Trade union membership is absolutely voluntary. No one can be disqualified for membership in a trade union because of religion, age, sex or nationality. Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. employed in any establishment may join a trade union. But while trade union membership confers definite rights, it also entails definite duties.

According to the Model Trade Union Rules now drafted and to be submitted to the forthcoming All-Union Trade Union Congress, every trade union member has the right:

a) To take part in deciding all questions at all general meetings of trade union members;

b) To raise any trade union question at general membership meetings and trade union committees;

c) To elect and be elected to all trade union bodies and trade union conferences and congresses;

d) To nominate candidates for election to trade union bodies and to move the rejection of any candidates;

e) To receive preferential treatment over non-unionists in respect to the receipt of higher benefits and pensions from the State social insurance fund, the use of the cultural services and amenities provided by the trade union, the reservation of places in health resorts, sanatoriums, and rest homes, the placing of his or her children in nurseries, kindergartens, Young Pioneer camps, etc.;

f) To receive loans and grants through the mutual aid society from the funds assigned for this purpose by the trade union and the social insurance administration;

g) To receive free legal advice from the trade union on disputes and conflicts affecting his conditions of work.

But at the same time, on joining a trade union a member assumes a number of important obligations. What are these obligations?

a) He must faithfully discharge his duties as a Soviet citizen as defined in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

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b) He must cherish and fortify public Socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system;

c) He must help to strengthen the defensive power of the Socialist country;

d) He must observe labour discipline and fulfil the obligations laid down in the collective agreement and the Labour Code;

e) He must strive to improve his general education and professional skill;

f) He must attend the general meetings of the union and carry out their decisions;

g) He must obey the rules of the trade union, observe trade union discipline and pay trade union dues punctually.

One cannot be a member of an organized collective body in the Soviet Union and not take part in the work of Socialist construction; one cannot be a member of a trade union and violate "the rules of Socialist human intercourse," as the Stalin Constitution defines it.

Trade union membership is open to all persons except those who have been deprived of the right to vote in the elections to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in conjunction with court sentences, as well as persons whose function it is to hire and dismiss workers in concessionary enterprises. Any employed person desiring to join a trade union must make application to the local trade union organization (shop committee or factory committee) at his place of work, which submits the matter to the trade union group in which the applicant is employed. Consequently, the question of admission to a trade union is first decided at a meeting of the trade union group (at which the presence of the applicant is required), and only then is it submitted for final decision to the local trade union organization. A new member must pay an entrance fee amounting to one per cent of his total monthly earnings. Membership dues are paid monthly on the basis of one per cent of all forms of earnings.

Foreign workers employed in the U.S.S.R. may join a trade union if they so desire and if they undertake to abide by the rules of the union. If a foreign worker belonged to a trade union abroad before he came to the U.S.S.R., he is exempted from paying the entrance fee when joining a Soviet trade union. An entry is made in his Soviet trade union card of his previous trade union standing abroad.

The funds of a trade union are derived from the entrance fees

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and monthly dues paid by its members and from the contributions payable by law by the employing establishments for the maintenance of the trade union committees. The law of August 26, 1922, fixes these contributions at a sum equal to two per cent of the total pay-roll of the establishment.

The revenues of the trade unions increase with the steady rise in the standard of living of the workers of the Soviet Union.

In 1932 the total revenues of the trade unions amounted to 935,985,900 rubles, derived from the following sources:

	<i>Rubles</i>
Membership dues (which at that time amounted to two per cent of total earnings)	335,312,100
Contributions from employing establishments	479,718,000
Proceeds from cultural undertakings	55,199,300
Contributions from the social insurance budget to special mutual aid societies and other special purposes . .	17,000,000
Other revenues	48,756,500

In 1935 the total revenues of the trade unions amounted to 1,669,431,600 rubles, derived from the following sources:

	<i>Rubles</i>
Membership dues (one per cent of total earnings) . . .	360,569,900
Contributions from employing establishments in accordance with collective agreements	990,472,000
Proceeds from cultural undertakings	105,147,500
Contributions from the State social insurance budget . .	129,963,800
Club membership dues	267,900
Other revenues	83,010,000

Trade union funds are expended on cultural work among the trade union members and on the improvement of their living conditions.

In 1935 the trade unions spent 881,295,000 rubles, or 49.2 per cent of their total revenues, on cultural undertakings, and 227,235,700 rubles, or 12.7 per cent of their revenues, on the improvement of the living conditions of their members.

The aggregate financial plan of the trade unions for 1936 provided for total revenues of 1,686,900,000 rubles, to be derived from the following sources:

	<i>Rubles</i>
Balance from previous year	31,600,000
Membership dues	489,800,000
Contributions from employing establishments	1,036,400,000
Proceeds from cultural undertakings	85,100,000
Other revenues	44,000,000

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The expenditures as provided for in this plan were as follows:

	Rubles
Administration and organization	398,500,000
Services and amenities for trade union members	271,200,000
Cultural services	958,200,000
Contributions to inter-union organizations	59,000,000

We thus see that the main items of expenditure of the Soviet trade unions are devoted to catering to the material and cultural needs of their members.

During the past twenty years the structure of the trade unions has changed as the tasks confronting them changed

The most important recent changes of structure were, firstly, that instead of twenty-three trade unions, embracing the whole trade union movement, there are now 162 unions, which are able to maintain closer contacts with the members and to respond more effectively to their demands since each union now covers a smaller field.

) A second important change is a considerable reduction of the paid staffs of the unions and a corresponding increase in the number of voluntary workers.

A third important change is the transference to the trade unions of the State functions of social insurance and supervision over the observance of labour protection laws and safety regulations, which has necessitated the setting up of a social insurance department, labour protection department, insurance councils, etc.

Thus the structural forms of the Soviet trade union movement are not fixed for all time but are constantly changing and are constantly being perfected. There can be no doubt that as the working class continues to grow and industry to develop in new regions and in the national republics, the Soviet trade unions will seek for new forms of organization that will enable them to maintain closer contact with their growing millions of members and better to perform their functions in the Soviet Socialist State.

III. THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT AND PRODUCTION CONFERENCES

Since the conquest of power by the proletariat, the trade unions in the U.S.S.R., which unite millions of workers, have made it their task to help the economic and State organs in the management of industry, calling upon every worker and other employee to increase his output and improve its quality within his seven or six-hour working day, to carry on a vigorous fight for higher labour productivity.

The worker in the U.S.S.R., knowing that he is the master of production, that he works for himself, for his class, and not for the capitalist, is concerned with every detail of the life of his enterprise. The workers and collective farmers in the U.S.S.R. display extremely great activity in production, which expresses itself in Socialist competition and its highest form—the Stakhanov movement. By increasing his productivity of labour, the Stakhanovite worker, the shock worker, not only raises his own standard of living, but by producing more goods makes possible a decrease in the cost of production and prices, thereby ensuring a constant improvement in the material and cultural living standard of all the working people of the U.S.S.R.

This is why one of the characteristic features of the Soviet system is a rapid rate of increase in labour productivity, which far surpasses the rate in the industry of the advanced capitalist countries in the best years of their development.

Thus, for example, the productivity of labour in the manufacturing industry of the U.S.A. during the ten years from 1920 to 1930 increased 46.8 per cent; in Germany during the eighteen years from 1913 to 1931 the productivity of labour increased 27 per cent, while in the U.S.S.R. during the period of the First Five-Year Plan (which was fulfilled in four years), labour productivity in industry increased 41 per cent, and the Second Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of 63 per cent. According to available data this figure will be surpassed. Hence, the planned rate of increase for productivity is quite feasible.

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The entire force of Socialist planning and the possibility of fulfilling these plans lie in the fact that the masses take part in drawing up the plans and carry on a devoted struggle for their fulfilment according to schedule and even ahead of schedule.

The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan in four years, and the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan for industry and transport ahead of schedule, on April 1, 1937, are vivid confirmation of the above.

As a result of these victories the U.S.S.R. now occupies first place in Europe in the output of oil, in the output of the machine-building, tractor and shoe industries, and in copper-smelting; in the production of combines the U.S.S.R. now holds first place in the world.

However, the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. are not contented with the progress they have made so far. They are directing all their efforts towards achieving ever greater results.

The development of production in the U.S.S.R. does not proceed as it does in capitalist countries. The rapid growth of industry in the capitalist countries, as is known, is based primarily on intensified exploitation of the working class of the home country and the enslavement of the peoples of the colonial countries.

The rapid development of the U.S.S.R. is due to the mighty movement of the class-conscious majority of the proletariat, which has found expression in Socialist competition and shock work. Labour in this country has become a matter of honour, valour and heroism. To be a shock worker in the U.S.S.R. is a matter of honour and this rank is respected by all.

Socialist competition has recently reached its highest form in the Stakhanov movement, so called after the young miner of the Donbas, Alexei Stakhanov, who has become famous throughout the Soviet Union and throughout the world. On August 30, 1935, Stakhanov cut 102 tons of coal in 5 hours and 45 minutes with his pneumatic pick, with the help of two timberers. In those days the average output of a miner in the Donbas was about 7 tons. On September 3 the record established by Stakhanov was surpassed by Dukanov, who cut 115 tons with the help of two timberers; and on September 7 Savchenko broke this record by cutting 151 tons. Shortly after, Stakhanov broke all of these records. Together with his two timberers he cut 227 tons in one shift. This extremely high output, unprecedented not only in the Soviet Union but in the world, was later exceeded by other Soviet miners. For

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example, Artukhov and two timberers cut 310 tons of coal in one shift, instead of the usual 7 tons.

Stakhanov adopted the following measures, which enabled him to achieve such a high productivity of labour:

1. The pneumatic pick was ensured a constant supply of compressed air for the entire shift;
2. The timberers were attached exclusively to him and did the timbering immediately after he finished the cutting;
3. The ledges were lengthened and their number reduced, so that one miner did not get in the way of the other.

Stakhanov's principle of applying new and better methods of organizing labour were enthusiastically acclaimed by the masses of workers and collective farmers throughout the Soviet Union.

The movement spread to other branches of industry. In the automobile and tractor industry, the forgers of the Gorky Automobile Works, Busygin and Velikzhanin, greatly exceeded the rate of output of American forgers. In Leningrad one of the workers of the Skorokhod Shoe Factory, Sinetanin, surpassed the records established by the workers of the Czechoslovakian shoe concern "Bata" by lasting 1,400 pairs of shoes in a single shift.

These high records of labour productivity are not matters of chance, they are the results of constantly improving efficiency and of systematic methods of work whereby the work is properly distributed according to the capabilities of every worker, according to his experience and skill, and whereby work is organized in such a way as to get the most out of the machine by ensuring its constant operation throughout the six or seven-hour working day.

The Stakhanovites are the outstanding workers of the U.S.S.R., men and women who have fully mastered the technique of their work and who have learned to get the maximum out of their machine. The Stakhanovites organize their day so as not to waste a minute of their working time. The Stakhanovites are workers who have learned to combine shock work with a thorough knowledge of their job.

The Stakhanov movement does not represent the records of a few individuals, but is a movement which has spread to hundreds of thousands and millions of people. This is proved by the fact that the movement has spread to practically all branches of production and labour throughout the U.S.S.R. The workers in the U.S.S.R. are eagerly and constantly raising their labour productiv-

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ity, for they know that they are working for their own people, for themselves, and not for exploiters—the capitalists and landowners.

The workers of the U.S.S.R. see for themselves that as a result of their work their living conditions are improving daily, both in respect to actual wages, and in respect to housing, the construction of new clubs, theatres, cinemas, restaurants, hospitals, nurseries, schools and universities. This is the reason for the progress of the U.S.S.R.

The rise in the productivity of labour is accompanied by great solicitude on the part of the trade unions for the protection of the health of the workers. The Soviet Union with its seven-hour and in many cases six-hour day has the shortest working day in the world. Huge sums of money are appropriated annually for labour protection and safety devices. In 1936, heavy industry spent 52,200,000 rubles for safety devices (*this does not include the enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Defence*).

In this same branch of industry, 852,721,800 rubles were appropriated for improving labour conditions. Of this amount, 379,970,300 rubles were expended for labour protection.

Every worker and employee gets from 12 to 24 days' vacation a year with full pay; teachers get 2 months' vacation. More and more rest homes and sanatoriums for the workers, office employees, engineers, technical workers, teachers and collective farmers are being built from year to year. No wonder the citizens of the U.S.S.R. feel vigorous and young!

The ranks of the shock workers and Stakhanovites are steadily and rapidly increasing. In the unions of the workers in industry 67 per cent of the workers are engaged in Socialist competition; of these 23 per cent are Stakhanovites and 22 per cent shock workers.

In the building trades unions 71 per cent of the workers are taking part in Socialist competition; 22 per cent are Stakhanovites and 31 per cent shock workers.

In the transport workers' unions 79 per cent of the workers are participating in Socialist competition; of these 26 per cent are Stakhanovites and 19 per cent shock workers.

In the heavy machine building industry in December 1935, 14.5 per cent of the total number of workers were Stakhanovites; in December, 1936, 29 per cent of the workers were Stakhanovites and 22 per cent shock workers. Seventy-four per cent of the workers are engaged in Socialist competition.

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In the shoe industry on January 1, 1937, 69 per cent of the workers took part in Socialist competition.

This mass movement of Socialist competition among the workers is characteristic of the overwhelming majority of the enterprises in the Soviet Union.

In capitalist countries the workers quite justifiably dread rationalization, efficiency measures, and new machinery, for under capitalism these spell unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up, exhaustion and premature old age for the workers. In the U.S.S.R., however, with the six and seven-hour working day, the vast sums expended annually for labour protection and safety devices, for social insurance and social security, the workers themselves introduce and welcome new methods and new inventions, which result in lightening their labour and in a higher output.

The working men and women are directing all their efforts towards mastering the operation of their machines, both during their working hours and at special "technical-minimum" study circles, what are known as "Masters of Socialist Labour" courses, etc.

For this purpose the administration of the enterprise is obliged to provide the workers who study with premises, with qualified teachers from among the best engineers, with text-books, etc., thus enabling them within a given period to acquire sufficient technical knowledge, as well as practical experience, to pass their State technical examinations.

In the first nine months of 1936, 601,400 persons in the unions of workers in industry passed their technical examinations; in the building trades unions—61,500, and in the transport workers' unions—254,400 persons.

By January 1, 1937, of 85,832 workers employed in 42 factories of the shoe industry, 21,463 had passed their State technical examinations, 6,607 with "excellent" and 9,103 with "good."

"Masters of Socialist Labour" courses are now attended by 2,758 leading Stakhanovites.

The scope of technical training in the factories and mills can be seen from the returns of the investigation carried out by the Central Statistical Board at the end of 1936, covering 5,700,000 workers in heavy industry. These data show that 2,300,000 workers, *i.e.*, 40 per cent, completed their "technical-minimum" courses by October 1, 1936, while 1,400,000 workers, *i.e.*, about 25 per cent, attended these courses part of the time. During this period, in

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capitalist countries a systematic process of workers losing their skill was observed.

While working, the Soviet worker also studies and acquires more skill. As he becomes more skilled he is promoted to more qualified work.

This is one of the most convincing signs of the radical change which the very nature of labour has undergone in the U.S.S.R.

Among the workers who have completed their studies, 84 per cent attended "technical-minimum" courses. Of those studying to-day, 59 per cent are attending "technical-minimum" courses, 14.3 per cent are studying in "Masters of Socialist Labour" courses and 19.3 per cent are attending Stakhanovite courses.

The army of Stakhanovites, masters of Socialist labour, is growing rapidly. The standard of training is rising and its scope is becoming wider and more varied.

In 1936 the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry published a list of 662,000 workers who had completed their "technical-minimum" courses. Of these 27 per cent had passed their examinations with "excellent" and 41 per cent with "good." Two hundred and ninety-four thousand workers employed in the enterprises of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry completed Stakhanovite courses, of whom 30 per cent passed with "excellent" and 42 per cent with "good." Altogether, in 1936 477,000 workers employed in the enterprises of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry entered Stakhanovite courses, 173,000 workers entered "Masters of Socialist Labour" courses.

The Stakhanov movement—the highest form of Socialist competition—is of enormous importance because of the fact that it paves the way for the transition to Communist society.

Comrade Stalin sees in the Stakhanov movement the rudiments of such a rise in the technical level of the working class as will cause the distinction between mental and manual labour to disappear.

"Today," Comrade Stalin said, "there are still few Stakhanovites, but who can doubt that tomorrow their number will have grown tenfold?"

The investigation carried out by the Central Statistical Board in the autumn of 1936 has already fully confirmed this. From November 1, 1935, to August 1, 1936, the number of Stakhanovites increased fourfold in iron and steel metallurgy, fivefold in transport machine building, tenfold in agricultural machine building, fourfold in the basic chemicals industry. etc.

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The army of Stakhanovites is the advanced detachment of the working class in the U.S.S.R., the vanguard in Socialist competition, people who have fully mastered the technique of their work and who have learned to get the most out of their machinery. The Stakhanovites, setting excellent examples of the Socialist attitude towards labour, will undoubtedly become in the near future the predominant type of worker in the U.S.S.R.

The fascists and their henchmen in the bourgeois press vilify the Stakhanovites, and argue that the Stakhanovites achieve their successes by working overtime, by over-exertion, etc. These slanderous assertions are refuted by the actual facts.

Investigations carried out at the end of 1936 as to how the workers spend their time revealed that in the factories and mills the Stakhanovites, just as the other workers, work seven hours. All talk of Stakhanovites working long hours to achieve their remarkable results is nothing but sheer invention.

Moreover, we see that the Stakhanovites spend much more time now on education and on social work. The Stakhanovite spends an average of 2 hours and 6 minutes a day for studies, whereas workers who are not Stakhanovites spend 1 hour and 38 minutes. Newspapers, *belles lettres*, political and technical literature, studying in vocational schools and study circles after working hours, lectures, visits to exhibitions, museums and theatres have become everyday necessities for broad sections of the Soviet workers. To this let us add that the Stakhanovites also take an active part in social work.

Hundreds of thousands of proposals are submitted by the workers for improvements to the machines or to some machine part, for better organization of work and better planning of the work of the shop in order to obtain a higher productivity of labour.

The heroism of the masses, their initiative and daring in all spheres of science and labour can be observed daily in the U.S.S.R.

The Stakhanov movement, which has caused all preceding rates of productivity to be surpassed has resulted in a tremendous increase in the wages of the shock workers and Stakhanovites.

The average monthly wage in 1936 was 20 per cent higher than in 1935. The average yearly wages of a worker in the iron and steel mills of the South amounted to 1,572 rubles in 1932, 2,431 rubles in 1934, and 3,422 rubles in 1936.

The wages of workers in the heavy machine building workers'

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union showed the following increase in 1936 as compared with 1935.

	1935 (rubles)	1936 (rubles)	Percentage of increase
Workers	2 676	3,252	21.5
Engineers and technical workers	5,384	6,839	27.0
Other employees	2 946	3,283	11.4

An interesting illustration of the earnings of a worker's family is the Glukhov family, which lives near Moscow. Andrei Grigorievich Glukhov is employed as a turner in the tool shops in the Podolsk Machine Building Works. He earns 700 rubles a month. His son Mikhail is a technician and also earns 700 rubles a month; his son Nikolai is a turner (beginner) and earns 150 rubles; his daughter Anastasia, an inspector, earns 180 rubles; his son-in-law Kossarev, a last-term university student, gets a monthly stipend of 300 rubles; his daughter Anna, an inspector, earns 100 rubles; his son-in-law Volodin, a last-term university student, gets a monthly stipend of 350 rubles; his daughter Lydia, an inspector, gets 200 rubles; and his daughter Klavdia, a telephone operator, earns 260 rubles.

The trade unions in the U.S.S.R. show the workers and employees how their material interests depend on their productivity. Questions concerning living conditions and improved standards of living are closely bound up with questions of production and are solved jointly. The high wage level of the workers in the U.S.S.R. and the large appropriations for housing and for cultural requirements (new houses, nurseries, playgrounds, sanatoriums, rest homes, clubs, libraries, stadiums, theatres, etc.) are dependent on the fulfilment of the production plans of the factories and mills, of the branches of industry and of the entire national economy of the country. Thus, the material standards of the workers are linked up with and dependent on the economic results achieved by the factory, branch of industry, and national economy as a whole.

While in no way replacing the role and responsibility of the directors and management of factories and enterprises, the trade unions rally the workers, engineers and other employees for active participation in the management of production.

An important method of getting the masses to participate actively in solving production problems is the production conference

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held in all places of work (factories, mills, institutions, educational establishments, etc.). This form has been in existence for the last fifteen years.

Through these production conferences the working masses take an active part in Socialist construction. The most capable, experienced workers, who have distinguished themselves on the job, are recommended by these conferences to responsible posts in the factories (as foremen, assistant managers and managers of shops, as assistant directors of whole enterprises, etc.).

The production conference is a regular meeting of workers in their brigade, shop or entire factory, at which, after discussing the situation in the factory, the plans for work for the coming month, quarter of the year or year, etc., the workers express their opinions on how the work is proceeding, note all defects, mismanagement and abuses, and make suggestions for improvements.

The reporter at the conference is usually a member of the administration (director of the factory, shop manager, foreman, brigadier) or a worker who has been instructed by the trade union committee to investigate the work of some production unit. In the discussion, the workers exchange their experiences in production, relate how they organize their work, how they eliminate spoilage and waste, forced idleness and slack, how they help more backward workers in their work, etc.

The reporter at the production conference informs the workers in detail about conditions in the factory or the shop investigated, how the production plan is being fulfilled, explains the reasons for defects and shortcomings in the work (delay in supply of materials, poor quality tools, damaged machines, enforced idleness of the workers, high percentage of spoilage, etc.), and points out the steps that have to be taken to eliminate these shortcomings and fulfil the production plan.

In the discussions the members of the production conference point out whether or not the speaker correctly explained the condition in the factory, shop or brigade, whether or not they agree with the proposals of the speaker, and give their opinions as to what should be done to overcome any defects.

If the report is made by a worker, the representative of the administration, who is present at the production conference, is obliged to take the floor and inform the conference as to his opinion on the criticisms and proposals.

When the period fixed by the production conference for realiz-

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ing the proposals it adopted expires, a production conference is called to hear a report on how these proposals were carried out.

An important part of the work of production conferences is the discussion of questions of rationalization and inventions.

In the course of his work on a machine, the worker acquires a great deal of experience. He often gets ideas for improving his work, for realizing a bigger output. He is naturally desirous of sharing these new ideas with those who work side by side with him, on the same or similar machines. Hence, proposals of this kind are often the subject of discussion at production conferences.

If a worker makes a proposal which is of practical value for production, the administration of the factory helps the worker with the technical calculations, in preparing the plans or blueprints for his proposal, etc.

For all proposals found to be of practical value to the enterprise or industry bonuses are awarded to the worker who made the suggestion or invention.

In 1935, in twenty-one factories of the heavy machine building industry, a saving of 9,000,000 rubles was effected through workers' proposals at production conferences and workers' inventions. The people who made these proposals were awarded bonuses amounting to a total of 871,000 rubles.

In 1936, fifteen enterprises of this same branch of industry effected an economy of 8,210,000 rubles through workers' proposals and inventions. The people who made these proposals received bonuses amounting to 791,000 rubles.

The trade union organizations at the enterprises, as well as the Central Committees of the Unions, have been doing a great deal to popularize the experiences gained by the Stakhanovites.

The workers of the machine building, textile and other branches of industry exchange their experiences by arranging to hear reports of Stakhanovites on their work at their shop and factory production conferences.

Upon the initiative of the Central Committee of the Shoe Workers' Union, the best Leningrad Stakhanovites of the shoe industry, men and women workers of the Skorokhod Shoe Factory, were invited to Moscow—among them were the workers Smetanin, Dzinkovsky, Rodionova, Rogatkina, Martinova and Dmitrieva. At a meeting held with the shoe workers of Moscow enterprises, these Leningrad workers reported on their Stakhanov methods of work

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and demonstrated on the machines how these methods could be applied.

Our most active trade union members—there are hundreds of thousands of them in the U.S.S.R.—set excellent examples of Stakhanov methods of work. They are organizing the working masses for new advances.

The production conferences which fight to eliminate all defects and shortcomings that hamper the Stakhanov movement in the factory constitute a powerful means for further developing the Stakhanov movement

IV. WAGES AND THE LIVING STANDARD IN THE U.S.S.R.

The living standard of the working class in the U.S.S.R. is determined primarily by its position as the ruling class since 1917, when it ceased being the exploited class and became the collective owner of all the implements and means of production in the country (factories, mills, railways, mines, etc.).

The Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. not only liberated the working class but also created all the conditions for a steady rise in its living conditions and level of culture.

A good idea of the real living standard of the workers in the U.S.S.R. can be had by examining the rights which are granted to citizens by the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

There is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R. Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. has the right to work, to guaranteed employment and payment for his or her work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

This right to work is ensured by the Socialist system of economy, by its constant growth, by the complete absence of economic crises and unemployment in planned Socialist economy, by the inexhaustible natural resources of the Land of the Soviets.

The U.S.S.R. has the shortest working day in the world, a six and seven-hour day. All wage-earners are entitled to annual vacations with full pay.

Millions of workers and other employees spend their vacations in sanatoriums and rest homes, thus realizing their right to rest.

In 1927-28, 1,600,000,000 rubles were appropriated for social insurance, in 1932—4,323,000,000 rubles, and in 1936—8,875,000,000 rubles. In 1927-28 the social insurance bodies spent 65,000,000 rubles for services to children, and in 1936—709,000,000 rubles.

The State ensures to every citizen of the U.S.S.R. the right to education. This right is no mere declaration. It is an achievement that is established and guaranteed by the great network of univer-

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cities, secondary and elementary schools, study courses and circles, which are attended by millions.

Let us cite a few facts: In 1937 approximately 30,000,000 children and juveniles are studying in elementary and secondary schools; the schools for adults and workers' faculties are attended by nearly 4,400,000 persons.

The universities, technical schools and workers' faculties are attended by over 1,500,000 young men and women. In addition to free schooling, university students receive stipends from the State. The stipend fund in the U.S.S.R. amounts to a total of two billion rubles.

In the sphere of housing, in the branches of industry covered only by the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry and the People's Commissariat of Railways, housing accommodation aggregating 27,264,000 sq metres of floor space was built for the workers and other employees in the period of the First Five-Year Plan.

In 1937, according to the Second Five-Year Plan for housing and municipal construction, 6,430,000 sq. metres of floor space will be built.

With the development of the national economy the number of workers and other employees in the enterprises of the U.S.S.R. is also steadily increasing.

In 1924-25 there were 8,500,000 wage-earners employed in the entire national economy; in 1928, at the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan period, there were 11,600,000 workers and other employees; in 1932, by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period, there were 22,900,000 workers and other employees, or almost double the number of 1928, and in 1936 there were 25,800,000 workers and other employees.

Wages are rising rapidly. The average annual wage has risen from 703 rubles in 1928 to 2,776 rubles in 1936.

This rise in wages and in the number of wage-earners (from 11,600,000 in 1928 to 25,800,000 in 1936) has resulted in an enormous increase in the wage fund—from 8,200,000,000 rubles in 1928 to 71,600,000,000 rubles in 1936, an increase of almost 800 per cent. The 1937 wage fund will amount to 78,300,000,000 rubles.

In 1935 the wages of workers in the iron and steel mills were as follows: steel smelters—400-500 rubles a month, rollers—500-600 rubles a month; in 1936 their wages were considerably higher.

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In February 1937 at the Hammer and Sickle Plant the average monthly wage of a steel smelter of the eighth category was 907.25 rubles; in the best steel smelters' brigade the workers earned an average of 1,096.80 rubles a month. Rollers of the sixth category working on a No "300" rolling mill at the same plant earned an average of 880.80 rubles a month, while the workers in the best brigade earned 957 rubles a month.

State expenditures for social and cultural services for the working people, to which we referred above, constitute a considerable additional source of income for the wage-earner's family.

These expenditures increased in the First Five-Year Plan period (1928 to 1932) approximately fourfold, *i.e.*, from 1,600,000,000 to 6,300,000,000 rubles, and in the four years of the Second Five-Year Plan period these expenditures increased almost two and a half times—from 6,300,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 15,500,000,000 rubles in 1936.

What these expenditures mean for the budget of the wage-earner's family can be seen from the following table:

	1932	1936	<i>In Percentage of Wages of 1936</i>
Wages per capita . . .	498	1135	100.0
State expenditure per capita . .	192	106	35.8

Thus, the benefits derived by the wage-earner's family from State expenditures on services which cover the cultural, educational and medical requirements of the worker and his family to a very large extent represent an addition to the family income of approximately 36 per cent.

In 1936, of a total expenditure of 152 rubles per capita for cultural and educational needs, 131 rubles were defrayed from State funds. Of the total expenditure of 177 rubles per capita for hygienic and medical services, 163 rubles were defrayed from State funds.

Besides the constant rise in wages and the steady increase in State expenditures for social and cultural services for the working people, the Soviet Government is systematically reducing retail prices in State trade. This in turn causes a reduction in the prices on the collective farm market. As a result of the reduction in prices, in 1935 the Soviet consumer gained nearly 5 billion rubles and in 1936 over 5 billion rubles.

The Government decrees of June and July 1937 provided for further price reductions of 10-15 per cent on cotton goods, linen

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and knit goods, footwear, clothing, perfumery and other commodities, which in all will represent a gain of nearly 1.5 billion rubles for the consumers in 1937.

As a result of the rising wages, the increased State expenditures on social and cultural services and the steady drop in prices in State and collective farm trade, there has been a rapid increase in the food consumption of the wage-earner's family.

According to investigations of the Central Statistical Board the amount of products consumed per capita (excluding agricultural workers) increased from 1932 to 1936 as follows:

	<i>1936 in Percentage of 1932 (In fixed prices)</i>
Bread and other bakery products	128.2
Potatoes	107.2
Fruit and berries.	194.9
Meat and lard	187.8
Butter	266.6
Eggs	191.2
All dairy products	192.1
Sugar	112.8

Whereas the per capita consumption of bread and other bakery products increased 28 per cent and of potatoes 7 per cent, the consumption of meat and dairy products, fruit and berries almost doubled, while the per capita consumption of sugar has increased about one and a half times.

In no other country in the world has there been such a rapid increase in food consumption within a period of four years.

A striking fact in this increased consumption is the great increase in the consumption of products having high food values.

While in fascist Germany more and more butter, meat and fat substitutes are being put on the market, and butter, meat and eggs have disappeared altogether from the homes of the working people, while the consumption of even bread and potatoes is constantly decreasing, the working people in the Soviet Union are consuming ever larger quantities of the best and most nutritious foodstuffs.

Thus in four years (1933-36) the per capita consumption of rye bread decreased 38 per cent and the consumption of wheat bread increased 163.5 per cent. The per capita consumption of pork increased 430 per cent, of butter 170 per cent, of sausage, ham, and cured and smoked meats 230 per cent.

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This marked improvement in diet and the increase in the per capita consumption was accompanied in the course of the Second Five-Year Plan period by a considerable increase in the purchase of manufactured goods—outer clothing, underwear, footwear, household goods, furniture, etc.

Data gathered in budget surveys show this quite clearly. The budgets of workers and other employees (excluding agricultural workers) increased from 1932 to 1936 as follows:

	<i>1936 in Percentage of 1932 (In fixed prices)</i>
Outer clothing, underwear and footwear	189.6
Perfumes and cosmetics	369.8
Sanitary supplies and medicines	165.8
Expenditures for cultural and educational requirements	203.0

This great increase in the consumption of manufactured goods and in expenditures other than for food is attested to by the greatly increased commodity turnover.

The turnover in State and co-operative retail trade in textiles, knit goods, footwear, metal utensils and other household goods, glassware, toilet soap, perfumes, printed matter and educational supplies, furniture, etc., has grown enormously.

Thus, the development of Soviet economy ensures a constant and systematic increase in consumption by the workers and other employees.

In the first nine months of 1936, the working people of Prokopyevsk (Kuznetsk Basin) purchased 73,000,000 rubles' worth of various goods in the city's stores, almost as much as had been spent during the whole of the previous year.

The average monthly expenditure for manufactured goods and products amounts to 75 rubles per capita of the population (including infants); this is in addition to expenditures for rent, theatres, the cinema, newspapers, etc.

With the exceptionally good harvest and the steady drop in the prices of foodstuffs and manufactures, in 1937 consumption by citizens of the U.S.S.R. will increase even more rapidly.

Such are the characteristics of the steadily improving condition of the working class in the Socialist State.

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The Principle of Wages in the U.S.S.R.

The fundamental principle of wage payment in force in the U.S.S.R. and guaranteed by the Constitution is payment in accordance with the quantity and quality of work performed.

In the land of Socialism pay for skilled labour and pay for unskilled labour are not the same: the engineer and the worker, the Red Army commander and the Red Armyman, the captain on a ship and the fireman do not receive the same pay. This principle of differentiation in pay according to quantity and quality of work has been in force in the U.S.S.R. since its foundation and this principle will continue to be in force in our Socialist society until the construction of Communist society, on the banners of which shall be inscribed "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The petty-bourgeois anarchist conception that under Socialism all people must be equal is entirely incorrect. The worker, the office employee, the teacher and the working man generally cannot but laugh at Jerome, an English writer of the last century, who in his cheap tales argues that "Communist equality" means that in order to attain general equalitarianism the arms of those who are stronger are cut off in order to make them equal to the weaker, or that part of the brains are removed from the wise and intelligent in order to make them equal to those who are less wise and intelligent. And the "conclusion" Jerome draws from this ridiculous calumny is that Communism is the kingdom of mediocrity in which man is not given the opportunity to develop, in which the individual is stunted. All this is merely the "ideological" basis for the struggle against Communism. The absurdity of this slander against Communism is evident. Jerome's theory that Communism is the kingdom of mediocrity has been refuted by life itself in the land of Socialism—the U.S.S.R. The whole world knows about the brilliant and gifted people and the great heroes who are coming to the fore daily in the Land of the Soviets.

Judging by a question he put when received by the leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, Emil Ludwig, the German writer, also believed that the U.S.S.R. was a country where the principle of share and share alike predominated, where general equalitarianism must exist. Ludwig asked:

"You speak of equalitarianism—lending the term an ironical meaning in respect of general equality. But is not general equality a Socialist ideal?"

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Comrade Stalin explained to Ludwig:

"It is those who know nothing about Marxism who have the primitive idea that the Russian Bolsheviks want to pool all wealth and then share it out equally." "The kind of Socialism under which everybody would receive the same pay, an equal quantity of meat, an equal quantity of bread, would wear the same kind of clothes and would receive the same kind of goods and in equal quantities—such a kind of Socialism is unknown to Marxism."

What kind of equality is recognized in the Soviet Union?

When we speak of equality in the U.S.S.R. we do not mean the levelling up of the physical and mental capabilities of people. Not only is this impossible today, but even in the future, highly developed Communist society it will not exist. People differ and will differ from one another both in respect to their physical strength and in respect to their capabilities

When we speak of equality in the Soviet Union we mean that:

a) The source which gives rise to inequality has been abolished—private ownership of the land, and of the implements and means of production;

b) Every person must work. "He who does not work shall not eat" (of course this does not refer to invalids and the like);

c) No restrictions (property, sex, religion) are imposed in the choice of a trade, profession, civic or State activity.

But if one worker produces two or three times as much as another, then he must receive correspondingly more pay. Moreover, this acts as an incentive to the more backward workers to rise to the level of the more advanced.

One extremely important feature which is characteristic of the condition of the workers in the U.S.S.R. should be noted in connection with this question of differentiation in the payment of wages.

This is the constantly growing skill of every worker of the U.S.S.R., the fact that he does more and more skilled and responsible work, the fact that the wages he gets for his work are constantly rising.

Unlike the situation in capitalist countries, in the U.S.S.R. large groups of workers do not continue at the same unskilled work for long periods of time.

In America, in England and in other capitalist countries there are permanent armies of unskilled labourers, people who do exclusively unskilled work.

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The Soviet worker, however, and particularly the young worker, soon goes over to more skilled work.

There are a number of industries in the U.S.S.R. requiring the wide use of unskilled labour power, which are experiencing quite serious difficulties in getting the workers they need. Very many enterprises are in need of unskilled workers for auxiliary work. But the workers do not remain on unskilled, comparatively low paid work.

It is rather difficult to express this process in figures. However, some light is shed on this question by the data of the special questionnaire of the Central Statistical Board sent to 7,138 young workers of nine industrial centres of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the Tenth Congress of the Young Communist League. In answer to this questionnaire the workers gave the following information on their wages in January 1931 and in December 1935:

AVERAGE WAGES (IN RUBLES)

	<i>All workers questioned</i>	<i>Workers questioned who were also working in 1931</i>	
	<i>Dec. 1935</i>	<i>Jan. 1931</i>	<i>Dec. 1935</i>
Machine building	275	84	299
Iron and Steel Metallurgy . . .	226	89	252
Coal	285	102	328
Textile	205	70	228

Thus we see that there has been a considerable rise in the wages of these young workers, a rise due to their increased skill, and promotion to more responsible work. The wages of young workers who had been employed in 1931 have increased 230 per cent within five years.

It is significant that in 1931 the wages of the workers who are Stakhanovites today (earning four times as much as they did in 1931) were no higher than the wages of the other young workers. This is evidence of the fact that the Stakhanovites come from the rank-and-file of the working class.

The promotion of young workers to more responsible and consequently higher-paid work is closely bound up with their education.

According to data of this same questionnaire, the changes in the wages of young workers employed both in 1931 and in 1935 vary considerably, in accordance with their education.

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<i>Education</i>	<i>Wage increase from Jan. 1931 to Dec. 1935 (In percentage)</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Below an elementary education	160	189
Elementary education	217	202
Incomplete secondary education	315	354
Secondary and higher education	233	184

The opportunity of receiving a free education with a stipend from the State while studying, the opportunity of receiving a vocational and technical training which the younger generation is availing itself of, the constantly rising demand for labour power of all grades of skill and the complete absence of unemployment make it possible for every person, and primarily for the young worker, to pass quickly from unskilled to skilled work, thus securing a considerable improvement in his condition materially as well as spiritually in respect to more interesting work and the greater development of his natural potentialities.

Social production in the U.S.S.R. proceeds according to plan. Anarchy of production, crises, unemployment, poverty—these inevitable attendants of capitalism—have been abolished. The workers' and peasants' State obliges all members of society to work according to their ability and sees to it that they receive equal pay for equal work.

This principle is in effect throughout the Land of the Soviets, irrespective of nationality, race or sex.

The establishment of differences in pay between skilled and unskilled workers, between the engineer, technical worker and worker, is quite correct in the first stage of development of Socialist society. This is so, first, because labour productivity under Socialism has not yet reached the stage where it is possible to satisfy all the requirements of the members of society; second, because under Socialism certain capitalist survivals still exist in the minds of people, expressing themselves in the old, as yet not outlived attitude towards labour, which is a heritage of capitalism and which still exists among some sections of workers and collective farmers.

Therefore, as a stimulus and incentive for the workers to raise their labour productivity in order to produce an abundance for the whole of society in face of the ever-growing demand, it is necessary in paying the worker his wages to take into account not

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only the time he worked in the factory, but also his output and its quality. It is necessary to take into consideration his knowledge, his efficiency, his skill, his attitude towards his machine and his work in general.

Differences in wage payments are established in the U.S.S.R. by fixing hourly (or daily) wage rates for workers of various categories. All workers of a given branch of industry are divided into categories. Each category includes workers of different trades and specialities but who are approximately equally skilled in their particular branch of work. The category of a worker is established on the basis of his skill, his efficiency and experience, as well as by the variety, complexity, precision and responsibility of the work he does. The more complex, precise and responsible his work, the more knowledge, skill and experience the worker must have, the higher is the category to which he belongs.

The number of categories varies in the different branches of industry. Thus, in the building trades there are six categories, in the metal trades—eight categories, etc. In the U.S.S.R. these categories are called “wage divisions.” Workers doing simple, unskilled work are in the first and second wage divisions, workers of average skill are in the fourth and fifth wage divisions, highly skilled workers are in the highest wage division (in the metal trades—in the eighth wage division).

Every wage division has its so-called “rate coefficient” which determines how much greater the rate of payment of the worker of the given category should be than the rate of payment of the worker in the first wage division (unskilled workers performing the simplest work). Thus, for example, the rate coefficients in force for the metal workers until recently were as follows:

Wage Division	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Rate Coefficient	1.0	1.2	1.45	1.75	2.1	2.5	3.0	3.6

This means that a worker of the fourth category receives an hourly rate 1.75 times as high as the hourly rate of the worker in the first category, a worker of the sixth category receives 2.5 times as much as a worker of the first category, and a worker of the eighth category 3.6 times as much.

Thus, if first category workers in cold shops receive an hourly rate of 80 kopeks, for instance, then according to the above table of rate coefficients, the hourly rates received by workers in every category will be as follows:

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Wage Division	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hourly rate (in rubles)	.80	.96	1.16	1.40	1.68	2.00	2.40	2.88

Moreover, workers employed in underground work or in hot or hazardous shops receive higher rates than workers employed in normal working conditions. The higher wages paid for work in hot shops (foundries, forges, etc.) act as stimuli for workers to become founders or forgemasters. Thus, for example, while the first category piece-rate workers in the cold shops of the Ural Machine Building Works receive 75 kopeks per hour, the rate for first category workers in hot and hazardous shops is 83-87 kopeks per hour, in the leading trades first category workers receive up to 1 ruble an hour. Wage rates vary to an even greater degree at other enterprises. Thus, whereas first category piece-rate workers in cold shops at the Kaganovich First State Ball-Bearing Works receive about 1 ruble per hour, there are some first category workers who receive as much as 1 ruble and 80 kopeks per hour.

The same holds true for the difference between the pay of the engineer and the pay of a worker of average skill. For if the engineer received just as much for his work as a worker of average skill, there would be less incentive for the latter to strive to become a highly skilled worker, an engineer, etc.

Thus, the average annual wage of a worker at the Kirov Works (former Putilov Works) in Leningrad was 3,027 rubles in 1935 and 3,979 rubles in 1936; the average annual wage of a worker at the Ural Machine Building Works was 2,918 rubles in 1935, and 3,642 rubles in 1936; the average annual wage of a worker at the Stalin Kramatorsk Works was 2,470 rubles in 1935 and 3,056 rubles in 1936, whereas the wages of engineers and technical workers were as follows: at the Kirov Works in 1935—5,678 rubles, in 1936—7,319 rubles; at the Ural Machine Building Works in 1935—6,747 rubles, in 1936—8,277 rubles; at the Stalin Kramatorsk Works in 1935—5,796 rubles and in 1936—7,277 rubles.

Under Communism, when the productive forces and social wealth will have become more highly developed, when all sections of the people will have greater understanding, when the distinction between manual and mental labour vanishes and when work itself becomes a prime necessity for all members of society—then every member of society will work not according to the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to the work performed," but according to the principle:

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The rising cultural and technical standards of the working class are ensured by the seven-hour working day, by the great opportunities for study and advancement to more skilled work, by the increasing prosperity of the masses of working people.

Forms of Wages in the U.S.S.R.

The fundamental system for payment of wages in the U.S.S.R. is direct, unlimited piece work. Direct, unlimited piece-work payment constitutes the fundamental system of payment precisely because it helps to improve the material condition of every worker and stimulates higher productivity of labour.

Under this system, the worker is paid a fixed rate for each job, the rate remaining unchanged irrespective of the worker's output.

Piece rates are determined on the basis of the worker's hourly rate and his fixed output quota or time quota. For example, if the hourly rate of a worker is fixed at 2 rubles and his output quota at 4 units per hour, the rate will be:

$$\frac{200}{4} = 50 \text{ kopeks}$$

If the worker produces 30 units in his seven-hour working day he will receive $50 \times 30 = 15$ rubles.

If he produces 40 units, his earnings will be $50 \times 40 = 20$ rubles.

One of the forms of direct, unlimited piece work is so-called progressive piece work, which has become widespread in recent years, particularly in industry.

Progressive piece work differs from direct piece work in that the worker receives his regular piece rates if he fulfils his quota (as is the case with direct piece work), but is paid higher rates for all units he produces above the quota.

For example, with a daily quota of 30 units, the rate is fixed at 50 kopeks per unit. If the worker produces 1-3 units above the quota, he receives 75 kopeks for each unit above. If he produces more than 33, he receives 1 ruble for every unit above the quota (30). For example, if a worker produces 32 units he receives 50 kopeks each for the first 30, or

$$50 \times 30 = 15 \text{ rubles}$$

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for the 2 units above the quota—75 kopeks each, or

$$75 \times 2 = 1.50$$

In all, he receives 16 rubles and 50 kopeks.

If, however, the worker produces 34 units, he receives the following pay:

For the first 30 units at 50 kopeks each	= 15 rubles
For the 4 units above the quota, 1 ruble each	= <u>4 rubles</u>
Total	19 rubles

In some branches of industry the payment for all output above the quota is increased two and three times (for instance, in coal mining). This acts as an added incentive to the workers to over-fulfil their quotas, to raise their productivity of labour.

In some branches of production there is still another method—the so-called “grade rates”: the higher the grade of the product, the higher is the rate of payment. For instance, if the rate for a Grade III product is 8 rubles per unit, then for every unit of Grade II the rate is increased to 10 rubles, and for every unit of Grade I to 12-13 rubles. In this way the worker is materially interested in giving not only a bigger output, but also high quality work.

Besides the piece rates in enterprises there are also time rates, *i.e.*, payment for time (hours, days, weeks or months) in accordance with the rate fixed for every worker according to his category.

The wages of the time worker depend upon the number of hours he worked in the given period (hour, day, working month) and the rate for his category. This system is used in cases where it is impossible to calculate or measure (by piece, volume, weight or length) the amount or quantity produced. However, the number of workers working wholly on time rates is constantly decreasing, and ever greater numbers are being transferred to the time-bonus system of pay.

The wages of time workers are calculated quite simply. Take the following example: a fifth category time worker has worked 1 month (25 working days), seven hours per day. The rate for this worker is 1.50 rubles per hour: the monthly wage of this time worker is:

$$\begin{aligned} 25 \times 7 &= 175 \text{ hours} \\ 1.50 \text{ rubles} \times 175 &= 262.50 \text{ rubles} \end{aligned}$$

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The time-bonus system of wage payment is used primarily for workers attending to machines (repairmen, lubricators, pumpers, etc.). They receive bonuses for a decrease in the number of breakdowns in the machines and in the number of enforced periods of slack time for the workers due to the need for repairing machines, motors, etc., and also for any saving in materials, tools and fuel.

Extra pay in addition to the regular wage. Besides the regular wages which the worker gets in accordance with the quantity and quality of output, the economic and State organizations, in accordance with the Labour Code, pay the worker additional sums, such as: a) extra pay for night work; b) special pay to nursing mothers for the intervals during which they feed their infants; c) full pay to young workers for the short working day; d) extra rates for overtime work, etc.

Pay for overtime. Overtime in the U.S.S.R. is strictly limited by law and can be resorted to only to a limited degree. Overtime work is paid for at time and a half for the first two hours and double pay for all additional hours.

Additional pay for night work. Working hours on night shifts (from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.) are one hour shorter than the regular working day. Since working hours at night are one hour less than they are by day, for every hour worked at night the worker receives besides his piece or time rates an additional one-sixth of his hourly pay if the regular working day is seven hours and one-fifth if it is six hours.

Pay to mothers for intervals for nursing their infants. Besides the general intervals, additional intervals of not less than thirty minutes each are given to nursing mothers. These intervals are considered part of the regular working hours. Women workers on piece work are paid for them according to their average earnings, women time workers receive full pay, with no deductions for these intervals.

Full pay to young workers for short working day. According to the Labour Code the working day for young workers of 16 to 18 years of age cannot exceed six hours. But for these six hours they receive the same pay as for a full working day. Thus, young time workers receive the full daily rate. Young workers allowed to work on piece work, besides receiving the same pay as adult workers receive for the same work, also receive additional pay for the one hour which they do not work.

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Additional wages. Besides the regular wage and extra pay the Labour Code provides for additional wages, which are paid out in the following cases: a) pay for vacation; b) a special allowance in case of discharge; c) pay for time spent at special State or civic functions (participation in Soviet Congresses, Trade Union Congresses, periods of territorial military training, in case of a summons for court service, etc.).

Pay for vacations. The annual vacation of a worker is twelve working days.

Workers employed in hazardous trades (as listed in the special occupational list) are allowed an additional twelve days' vacation with full pay. Such, for instance, are workers in foundries, workers working in contact with lead or mercury, underground workers.

Longer vacations (not less than twenty-four working days) are also granted to young workers (16-18) and apprentices of factory schools.

For his vacation the worker receives his full average pay, which is paid out to him before he goes on vacation.

Workers employed directly in industry (in the mining, metal, chemical, textile and building material industries, on the railways, in marine and automobile transport, and on big construction jobs) who have worked for no less than two years at the same enterprise receive an additional three days' vacation annually or monetary compensation for these three days.

Discharge allowance. If a worker is discharged in connection with his being called up for the Red Army, or if he goes to study in the workers' faculty or university, he receives a special discharge allowance. When called up to the Red Army he receives his average pay for twelve working days; students in their last term at workers' faculties, transferring from evening to day studies, as well as workers entering a university, receive full average pay for one month.

Pay for time spent at State and civic functions. Workers receive full average pay from their factory or office for the time they spend at State or civic functions, i.e., in the event that a worker is summoned to court to serve as a people's juryman, expert or witness, or if he is summoned by criminal investigation bodies to serve as expert or witness; if a worker is a delegate to a congress, conference or assembly convened by State organs, by the trade unions or consumers' co-operative.

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Role of the Trade Unions in Questions of Wages

The wage question, as has already been said, is closely linked up with questions of production, with questions of labour productivity.

The continuous rise in labour productivity at the Socialist enterprises leads to a rapid improvement in the material and living conditions of the workers.

The increase in labour productivity for 1937 in all branches of the national economy is fixed at 19.5 per cent, the increase in wages at 10 per cent.

The higher percentage in the increase of labour productivity as compared with the increase in wages is explained by the necessity for extending Socialist reproduction. High labour productivity, increasing the output, makes it possible to increase the goods turnover of the country, and thus also to strengthen the Soviet ruble, to raise the real wages of the workers and employees of the U.S.S.R.

The economic bodies—the central boards of the various branches of industry—having received the wage funds assigned by the Government for their respective branches of industry, distribute this fund together with the central committees of the trade unions among their enterprises, with a view to securing higher wages for the most important, key enterprises.

After the central board notifies the given enterprise that its wage fund has already been fixed, the economic and trade union bodies conclude collective agreements, establishing the rates of the workers according to category and labour conditions (hot or cold shops, piece work or time work, etc.) within the limits of these funds assigned by the State.

The terms of the collective agreement are thoroughly discussed at meetings of the workers and other employees, after which it is signed both by the administration of the enterprise and by the trade union on behalf of the workers. In the discussion every worker or other employee has the right to make amendments or additional proposals to the draft agreement.

In the collective agreement the administrative bodies undertake to establish proper labour conditions for the workers, such as will enable them to fulfil the industrial and financial plan of the enterprise; in turn, the workers pledge to work for the

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fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan both quantitatively and qualitatively, for the reduction of the cost of production, for a real mastery of the technique of their work, etc.

The collective agreement clearly establishes the production tasks of the enterprise, the output quota, by how much the cost of production must be reduced and the percentage of increase in labour productivity.

The collective agreement also lays down the measures which have to be taken for improving the material and cultural services to the workers, the increase in the wage fund, the increase in the allocations for labour protection and safety measures, housing construction and the construction of children's establishments (nurseries, playgrounds, etc.).

In concluding the collective agreement both parties, the administrative bodies as well as the workers, see to it that the forms of pay to the workers and other employees are most effectively linked up with the interests of production.

That is why the collective agreements, in connection with the improved methods of standardization, contain provisions for an increase in the number of workers paid under the piece-rate system. This system, as has already been stated, keeps the worker materially interested in raising his labour productivity and corresponds with the wage principle in effect in the period of Socialism—pay according to the quantity and quality of work.

After the conclusion of the collective agreement the trade union organizations periodically, once in 3 or 4 months, check up on the fulfilment of all points in the agreement undertaken by the administrative bodies and by the workers. If the administrative bodies fail to fulfil the agreement, or any of its provisions, the trade unions call their attention to the necessity of doing so as soon as possible, otherwise they have the right to prefer charges against them in the People's Court.

On the other hand, in case the workers fail to abide by the agreement, the trade unions bring these facts to their notice and urge them to fulfil their pledges as soon as possible.

An important role in the daily struggle for carrying out the mutual obligations undertaken in the collective agreement is played by the so-called Rates and Conflicts Commissions organized in the enterprises.

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These Rates and Conflicts Commissions are organized on a parity basis, *i.e.*, on the basis of an equal number of representatives from the administration and the workers. The most competent and authoritative workers are appointed to these commissions by the factory trade union committees, workers familiar with the technological processes of production and the labour laws. These commissions investigate all grievances of the workers about incorrect output quotas or rates fixed by the foreman or the shop manager; about any delay on the part of the administration in introducing new, higher, rates; about mistakes in wages; about the administration refusing to give out special working clothing, etc.

The Rates and Conflicts Commission must examine and settle complaints within a period of three days.

If the two parties—the representatives of the administration and the trade union—fail to come to terms about the worker's grievance, the question is handed over for final settlement to the People's Court.

Every factory and shop has a "mass control brigade," composed of trade union activists—shock workers and Stakhanovites, headed by the chairman of the trade union committee of the enterprise. These brigades periodically check up whether the office makes any mistakes in its accounts, beginning with the first document—the charge sheet given out to the piece worker with each job—and ending with the monthly paysheet. The workers' brigades verify whether the workers were properly paid for enforced slack and spoilage due to technical reasons for which the workers are not to blame; whether the administration paid the workers correctly for night work, for the intervals to which nursing mothers are entitled; whether young piece workers from 16 to 18 work fewer hours and get paid for a full working day.

The mass control brigades verify whether deductions made by the administration from the workers' wages are correct, bearing in mind that such deductions may be made by the administrative bodies only by decision of the People's Court, and cannot exceed 25 per cent of the worker's wages every pay-day.

If mistakes or miscalculations are discovered, if the workers receive less than is due them for extra hours as provided for by law, all persons guilty are liable to a penalty and public censure by the trade union organizations, while if evil

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intent is established, a complaint is filed in court charging the accused with having committed a crime directed against the interests of the workers.

In the U.S.S.R. there is no struggle between the workers and the administrative bodies for higher wages, as there is in capitalist conditions, nor can there be such a struggle.

In its Socialist plans for the development of the national economy, the State allocates huge sums for increasing wages and for further improving the material and cultural standards of the workers and other employees of the U.S.S.R.

Besides the allocations provided for in the annual plans for wage increases, vast sums were specially assigned in 1935, 1936 and 1937 by decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., considerably raising the wages of medical workers, school teachers, teachers in technical schools, workers' faculties, schools for adults and children's homes.

In the U.S.S.R. real labour enthusiasm is manifested by millions of people who do shock work, Stakhanov work, for themselves, for their class, for their State. This is what makes the Soviet system invincible.

Emil Ludwig, the German writer to whom we referred previously, not understanding the causes of the high labour productivity of the workers and peasants in the U.S.S.R., and their supreme devotion to the Soviet power, drew the wrong conclusion in the question he put to Comrade Stalin, leader of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., declaring that shock work was the result of a regime of intimidation in the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Stalin objected, saying: "You are mistaken. Incidentally, your mistake is shared by many. Do you think it possible to maintain power and enjoy the support of millions for a period of fourteen years by methods of intimidation and terror? No, that is impossible. The tsarist government knew better than any other how to intimidate. It had long and vast experience in that field. The European, and particularly the French bourgeoisie, helped tsarism in every way and taught it how to terrorize the population. Yet in spite of that experience, and in spite of the aid rendered by the European bourgeoisie, the policy of intimidation led to the collapse of tsarism."

And Comrade Stalin concluded: "But as to the toiling pop-

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ulation of the U.S.S.R., the workers and the peasants, who represent not less than 90 per cent of the population, they stand for the Soviet power and the overwhelming majority of them actively support the Soviet regime. They do so because that regime furthers the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants. This is the basis for the stability of the Soviet Government, and not an alleged policy of alleged intimidation."

V. SOCIAL INSURANCE

1. General Information

State social insurance in the U.S.S.R. is something that has been won by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution there had been no real social insurance, either in tsarist Russia or during the rule of the Provisional Government, from February to October 1917.

In 1912, under the pressure brought to bear by the growing revolutionary movement of the working class, the tsarist government, trembling for its own fate, was obliged to issue a law introducing accident and sick insurance. However, this insurance was extended to an extremely limited number of workers. The entire burden of bearing the expenses for this insurance was placed on the backs of the workers, whereas the insurance benefits themselves were beggarly.

This hypocritical law met with the resentment of all the more class-conscious workers. The Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, drafted its own workers' social insurance program at that time, and up to October 1917 carried on a constant struggle for realizing this program, mobilizing the forces of the proletariat for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and landowners.

This workers' insurance program was not and of course could not have been realized under the bourgeois governments. It was put into effect only after the October Revolution. Moreover, as the national economy developed and the victories of Socialism were consolidated, State social insurance extended even beyond the workers' insurance program, which had already been put into effect. It became a major factor in satisfying the material and cultural requirements of the workers and other employees, in ensuring the rights granted to the working population of the U.S.S.R. by the new Stalin Constitution.

According to Article 119 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

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"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure. The right to rest and leisure is ensured by . . . the provision of a wide network of sanatoriums, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the toilers."

According to Article 120 of the Constitution:

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work.

"This right is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and other employees at State expense, free medical service for toilers, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the accommodation of the toilers."

State social insurance in the U.S.S.R. is extended to all workers and other employees engaged in industry, agriculture and transport, to domestic employees and employees in institutions, irrespective of the duration or nature of their work (whether permanent, seasonal or temporary).

In 1933 the trade unions were put in charge of social insurance, and since then the entire social insurance fund has been administered by the trade unions, which thus fulfil one of the most important functions of the State in the sphere of serving the material and cultural requirements of the workers and other employees.

Prior to 1933 the trade unions merely gave general leadership to social insurance work, supervised the insurance boards and social insurance branches, elected members to insurance boards and nominated candidates for leading posts in social insurance work. However, they were not directly in charge of social insurance, which was in the charge of the People's Commissariat of Labour of the U.S.S.R.

The transference of the State functions of the People's Commissariat of Labour to the trade unions was, indeed, a vivid example of the further development of democracy in all spheres of State life of the U.S.S.R., a democracy which has found its fullest expression in the new Stalin Constitution.

All social insurance funds, which are contributed by the enterprises and institutions, etc., go to the trade unions. The insured workers and employees themselves do not have to contribute anything for social insurance.

The contributions of the enterprises and institutions (the insurers) for social insurance are calculated according to set rates fixed by the Government at a definite percentage of the total payroll.

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According to the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. of March 23, 1937, the insurance rates fixed for all branches of the national economy amount to from 3.7 per cent to 10.7 per cent of the wage fund, depending upon the actual expenditures in social insurance.

During the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans the State social insurance budget increased as follows: In 1929 (first year of the First Five-Year Plan period), when there were 10,932,200 insured workers and other employees, the social insurance budget amounted to 1,327,100,000 rubles; in 1933 (first year of the Second Five-Year Plan period), when the number of insured workers and other employees had risen to 22,156,500, the budget amounted to 4,799,800,000 rubles; in 1936, with 25,600,000 insured workers and other employees, the budget amounted to 8,875,000,000 rubles—an increase of almost 570 per cent in seven years.

Thus, through social insurance, the State spent for material aid, social and medical services to the toilers: in 1929—121.4 rubles per wage-earner, in 1933—216.6 rubles, and in 1936—340.7 rubles, a threefold increase within seven years.

2. Benefits and Pensions

The trade unions in the U.S.S.R. now do the following in the sphere of social insurance: they pay out benefits in cases of temporary disability (sickness, pregnancy, child-birth, quarantine, care of the sick), pay maternity benefits upon the birth of a child, pay pensions to employed invalids (totally incapacitated invalids receive their pensions from the State through the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare); pay benefits for funerals, provide workers and other employees with rest homes, sanatoriums and health resorts, render material aid and carry on cultural work among children (organize Pioneer camps, children's sanatoriums, pay out relief, etc.), carry on sports work, organize excursions, arrange for special diets for workers and other employees requiring such food, and carry out other measures in respect to the social and everyday needs of the insured and their families.

In order to receive benefits the insured worker is not obliged to furnish any record of previous employment (with the one exception of some categories of seasonal workers); benefits to workers and other employees are paid out from the very first day of sickness until complete recovery, or until the ill person is declared an

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invalid (totally incapacitated). In the U.S.S.R. there is no "waiting" period and no limited period for the payment of sick-leave benefits. Women workers and employees are entitled to 56 working days' vacation before and 56 days after confinement.

The overwhelming majority of the insured working people receive 100 per cent of their average earnings as sick-leave benefits. Moreover, workers and other employees receive free medical aid in State hospitals, dispensaries and polyclinics, or the free services of physicians who attend them at home. Medical aid in the U.S.S.R. is really placed at the service of the workers and other employees. Unlike the working people in capitalist countries, the working people in the U.S.S.R. are ensured free medical aid and treatment, and their material conditions do not suffer in the least while they are incapacitated.

No unemployment benefits are paid in the U.S.S.R.—because the U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world where there is no unemployment.

Special attention and solicitude is manifested towards the older people in the U.S.S.R. Upon reaching the age of 60, all workers and other employees having service records of 25 years or over are pensioned with from 50 to 60 per cent of their average earnings. Women having service records of 20 years are pensioned at the age of 55. Workers employed on underground jobs and in certain other trades are pensioned before this age, their required service records also being shorter.

Invalid pensions from the social insurance funds are paid to workers and other employees. In the event of the death of the supporter of the family his family also receives a pension. The amount of these invalid pensions depends upon the wages, the degree of disability, the length of the service record and the causes for disability. The pensions are from 33 to 100 per cent of the former earnings, and for families receiving pensions upon the death of the supporter from 23.5 to 100 per cent of the former earnings of the deceased. If disability was the result of an accident at work, the pension is larger.

Invalids with long and meritorious labour records are classed in the special category of Heroes of Labour and receive higher pensions; invalids who have distinguished themselves in the cause of the revolution or who have rendered meritorious service in the field of science or art receive a special so-called "personal" pension. Teachers who have worked for 25 years receive service pen-

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sions. Personal pensions, pensions to Heroes of Labour, service and old-age pensions are paid out irrespective of whether the pensioner continues to work or not.

The State annually allocates huge social insurance funds, which are steadily and rapidly increasing from year to year. Thus, for sick-leave benefits, for maternity benefits and for pensions the following sums were spent: in 1929—644,000,000 rubles, in 1933—1,512,900,000 rubles, and in 1936—3,694,500,000 rubles, an increase of almost 500 per cent within a period of seven years.

The amounts spent for maternity benefits have risen especially, in view of the rapidly increasing birth-rate and the increase in benefits provided by legislation. For maternity benefits in 1929—34,700,000 rubles were allocated, in 1936—338,500,000 rubles, and in 1937—822,000,000 rubles.

Such is the solicitude manifested by the trade unions and the Socialist State for sick workers and other employees, for motherhood, for aged working people, for invalids and for families who have lost their supporters. The working people of the U.S.S.R. are assured of an old age which is materially secure and free from worry. This right, which is guaranteed by the Constitution, is ensured by the broad development of social insurance.

3. Other Forms of Social Insurance Aid

The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. have at their disposal a large network of rest homes and sanatoriums, in which the workers and other employees spend their vacations, receiving good and wholesome food, recreation, medical attention and treatment.

During the early years of the Revolution rest homes and sanatoriums were established in the former noblemen's villas and on the rich landowners' estates, expropriated by the working class from the capitalists. But after the national economy recovered from the destruction caused by the war, the Soviet State began to build new rest homes and sanatoriums. In 1933 all rest homes and sanatoriums up to then controlled by the People's Commissariat of Labour were given over to the trade unions.

During the last three years the trade unions have themselves built and established many new rest homes and sanatoriums, and today they already have over 600 rest homes and 200 sanatoriums. (This does not include the large number of rest homes and sanatoriums controlled by the Commissariat of Public Health and economic organizations and enterprises.)

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The following table shows the number of people who were at rest homes or sanatoriums in 1936 (in thousands):

<i>In sanatoriums</i>	<i>In rest homes (Exclusive of one- day rest homes)</i>	<i>In one-day rest homes</i>
413.5	1,550.5	1 188.5

In 1937 over two million people will be sent to rest homes, and about 350,000 to sanatoriums and health resorts—all the expenses for this coming from the social insurance fund. The sums expended by the trade unions from the social insurance budget for the maintenance of rest homes and sanatoriums, for their construction and equipment increase from year to year by hundreds of millions of rubles. Thus, in 1929—41,600,000 rubles were spent for these purposes, by 1933 this sum had increased to 238,000,000 rubles, and in 1937 it will amount to 884,500,000 rubles. This is how the right to rest is guaranteed to the working people in the Soviet Union, this is how the trade unions and the Socialist State care for the health of the toilers.

In the interests of the health of the working people, the trade unions spend vast sums for sports, travel tours and excursions. Nearly 70 all-Union sports societies have been organized by the trade unions. Numerous stadiums, swimming-pools and boat houses, gymnasiums, tourist camps, etc., have been built. The social insurance budget for 1937 alone provides for 139,000,000 rubles to be spent for sports, travel tours and excursions.

Special dietetic restaurants have been opened for the workers and employees in the U.S.S.R. with social insurance funds. When working people require special diets they get their meals here at greatly reduced prices. The social insurance budget for 1937 has allocated 90,000,000 rubles for dietetic feeding.

Material aid is rendered insured workers and other employees by social insurance through the medium of mutual-aid societies. In 1936, 80,000,000 rubles were allocated for subsidies to these societies, in 1937—100,000,000 rubles. In addition, there is a special fund for aid to parents finding themselves in temporary difficulties, for which purpose 45,000,000 rubles were allocated in 1937.

Particularly great solicitude is manifested for children, for whom a bright and happy life is ensured in the land of Socialism.

Kindergartens, nurseries, children's parks, Young Pioneer Pal-

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aces and playgrounds have been and are being built. Like the entire U.S.S.R., the trade unions pay particular attention to the requirements of the children. They spend huge sums from the social insurance budget for Pioneer camps, children's sanatoriums and on cultural services for school children. In 1937—208,100,000 rubles have been allocated for these purposes, as against 92,000,000 rubles in 1936 and 13,000,000 in 1933.

Up to 1937 hundreds of millions of rubles were being allocated from the social insurance budget for nurseries and kindergartens. But in accordance with the decree of the Government of March 23, 1937, dealing with the reform of insurance rates, from 1937 on, all expenditures for these purposes are to be borne by the State budget.

The reform of the insurance rates was effected with the aim of improving the administration of the social insurance funds of the trade unions, thus helping them to cope still more successfully with the tasks of ensuring the further material and cultural well-being of the working people.

Up to 1937 the trade unions paid out benefits, administered the rest homes and sanatoriums, rendered certain services to children, carried on sports work, etc., and themselves disposed of the social insurance funds for these purposes. For medical aid, however, for the maintenance of kindergartens and nurseries, for workers' housing construction, they received the contributions of the enterprises and remitted them to the State organs (Commissariat of Public Health, Commissariat of Education, etc.), the latter receiving additional funds for these purposes from the State budget. The Government decided to transfer all expenditures for health protection, kindergartens, nurseries, workers' housing construction, and pensions to non-working pensioners to the State budget, to simplify the entire system and free the trade unions of the work of collecting and remitting to the State organs that part of the social insurance fund intended for medical aid, housing construction, kindergartens, nurseries, pensions, etc. This reform demanded the revision of the insurance rates according to which the enterprises and institutions made their contributions to the social insurance fund.

As a result of this reform the trade unions have received greater possibilities of more effectively serving the insured workers with all forms of social insurance aid. Thus, whereas in 1936, 3,392,000,000 rubles were allocated to the trade unions for meas-

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ures wherein they disposed of the social insurance funds directly, after the reform in 1937 the Government approved of a social insurance budget of 5,045,000,000 rubles for these same purposes, an increase of 1,653,000,000 rubles, or approximately 49 per cent.

The allocations for social insurance which have been transferred to the State budget have also been considerably increased. For example, for health protection and nurseries the social insurance budget provided for 2,441,800,000 rubles in 1936, the State budget—for 4,252,600,000 rubles, altogether a total of 6,694,400,000 rubles; in 1937 the State budget alone provides 7,643,100,000 rubles for these purposes, *i.e.*, about one billion rubles more than was assigned by both budgets in the preceding year.

The same is true with respect to allocations for housing construction, for pensions to non-working pensioners and for kindergartens.

4. Organization of Social Insurance

At the present time social insurance in the U.S.S.R. is administered by the A.U.C.C.T.U., by the central committees of the unions and the local trade union organizations. In the U.S.S.R. there are 162 trade unions, which have 162 social insurance boards. All practical work in the sphere of social insurance at the enterprises or institutions is carried out by the trade union committees of the workers and other employees.

All the work of the trade unions in disposing of the insurance funds is carried out under the everyday control of the working population, and in their insurance work the trade unions rely on the activity of the insured workers themselves. The workers and other employees elect insurance delegates and insurance councils at general and shop meetings, with whose aid and through whom the trade union committees in the factories and institutions carry on all their social insurance work.

The social insurance council, headed by the chairman of the trade union committee of the enterprise or institution, supervises the work of the insurance delegates, fixes the benefit rates in accordance with the rules, checks up the sick-leave certificates, verifies how they are handed out and used, renders comradely aid to sick workers, fights occupational diseases, makes a study of the causes of various diseases, sends workers and other employees to rest homes and sanatoriums, sends children of working people to nurseries, kindergartens and Pioneer camps, supervises the work

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of medical and children's establishments and checks up the sums contributed by the administration of the enterprise or institution for social insurance.

The work of the insurance delegates is truly many-sided. Through the medium of the insurance councils, the broad strata of the working people in the U.S.S.R., on the basis of Socialist democracy, are drawn into the actual management of the affairs of social insurance.

VI. LABOUR PROTECTION AND SAFETY MEASURES

In tsarist Russia not even the most elementary labour protection existed. The workers had to carry on a long and obdurate revolutionary struggle for a shorter working day, for higher wages, for enforcing at least the elementary rules and regulations with regard to sanitary conditions and safety devices. On the eve of the war, in 1913, the average working day for men was 10 hours, for women and young workers 9 hours and 40 minutes. Only 8.5 per cent of the workers had an eight-hour working day; over 15 per cent worked 11 to 12 hours; 59 per cent of the St. Petersburg tailors worked 11 and 11½ hours; most of the cooks in the Moscow industrial district worked 15 hours a day. The overwhelming majority of the workers earned less than the living minimum. There was practically no protection of female or juvenile labour. According to tsarist law children under twelve years of age were prohibited to work. However, so many exceptions were allowed to this law that seven and eight-year old children continued to work in many enterprises even after the law was issued. Expectant mothers were given no time off and in most cases worked up to the very day of childbirth. The only ones to see to the enforcement of the sorry tsarist labour laws were the tsarist officials—factory inspectors who were guided by the interests of the manufacturers and not of the workers. And of even these factory inspectors there were only 200 throughout Russia.

It was only the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 which, having overthrown the power of the capitalists and landowners, fully and completely satisfied the workers' requirements in the sphere of labour protection. On November 11, 1917, four days after the October uprising, the fundamental principles of Socialist labour legislation, for which the working class had been fighting for so many years, were proclaimed.

Labour legislation in the U.S.S.R., the country where the working class holds power, is the most advanced legislation in the world in respect to the extensive rights it grants to the working people.

From the very first days of the Revolution an eight-hour work-

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ing day was introduced, and for underground workers, office employees and brain workers a six-hour day.

As soon as it succeeded in restoring the country's industry, which had been ruined by the imperialist and civil wars, the Soviet Government, in its manifesto of 1927 marking the tenth anniversary of the Great Proletarian Revolution, proclaimed a seven-hour working day with no reduction in wages

And today the workers of the U.S.S.R. enjoy the shortest working day in the world—a six and seven-hour day. As far back as 1934 the average working day in the big industrial enterprises was somewhat less than seven hours. There are only a few categories of workers still working eight hours. These are building workers, workers on State farms, workers in housing and municipal enterprises and seasonal workers. In a number of trades which are injurious to the health, the working day is only six hours, four hours or even three hours. Most underground workers have a six-hour day (hewers, drillers, timberers, dynamiters, haulers, etc.). So also do some categories of surface workers in the ore mining industry.

Many categories of workers in the metallurgical industry enjoy a shortened (less than seven-hour) working day (workers engaged in smelting copper sulphide ores on shaft furnaces, puddlers, copper founders, etc.); so also do workers in the metal working, chemical, leather and other industries (in cases when the worker comes in direct contact with poisonous substances, such as mercury, lead, arsenic, etc.), workers whose work entails nervous strain (radio, telephone, etc.), workers working in compressed or rarefied air (caisson work, diving, etc.), workers in high temperatures for long periods, or in very low temperatures in the open

Young workers of 16 to 18 years of age have a six-hour day.

The number of workers who have a six-hour working day is quite large. In the coal industry in 1935, 20.2 per cent of the total number of workers had a six-hour day, in the non-ferrous metallurgical enterprises—28.6 per cent, in the basic chemicals industry—11.6 per cent, in aniline dyes—38.3 per cent, in the glass industry—31.6 per cent, in the aluminium industry—25 per cent, in the enterprises manufacturing non-ferrous metal products—30.8 per cent, etc.

The shortening of the working day is accompanied by a constant rise in wages, depending upon the increase in labour productivity.

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As a rule, overtime work is prohibited in the U.S.S.R. It is permitted only in special cases, and no more than 120 hours overtime per year per worker is allowed.

Every working day must have a dinner interval of from half an hour to two hours. The length of the interval is established according to the kind of work and the desire of the workers of the given enterprise. The worker usually spends his dinner intervals in the factory restaurant, where he is served his dinner, or a lunch from the buffet, in pleasant and comfortable surroundings. The factory trade union committees pay a great deal of attention to the equipment and furnishing of these restaurants and to proper service for the workers during their dinner intervals. Some of the enterprises arrange short concerts, radio concerts, collective readings or other such forms of mass work during the intervals, with a view to providing the worker with the best rest and relaxation.

The workers in the U.S.S.R. have the shortest working week in the world—the six-day week (five days' work and the sixth off), or the five-day week (four days' work and the fifth off). Thus, there has been an increase in the number of off-days. With the five-day week there are 72 off-days per year, besides an additional six off-days during the May and November holidays (two days each), Lenin Memorial Day and Constitution Day.

The worker is able to spend his off-day in one of the numerous parks of culture and rest, or in the one-day family rest homes, where the trade union organizations arrange for various recreational measures according to the desires of the people at the rest homes (sports, music, dancing, games, reading-rooms, study rooms, etc.).

Every wage-earner is entitled to an annual vacation of no less than two weeks at State expense. Some categories of workers get an additional two weeks' vacation (workers in hazardous trades, etc.). There are many categories of employees (teachers, medical workers, scientific workers and others) who get one and a half month's to two months' vacation annually. Persons working in remote localities of the Soviet Union are also entitled to long vacations.

The worker or other employee has the opportunity of spending his vacation in a rest home, sanatorium or at a health resort. There is a wide network of these throughout the Soviet Union. In 1937 the trade unions alone will send over 2,000,000 persons to rest homes and 350,000 to sanatoriums and health resorts. Be-

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sides the rest homes and sanatoriums at the disposal of the trade union organizations, there are very many directly controlled by organs of the Health Commissariat and economic organizations and enterprises.

From the very beginning of the Revolution the importance of rest homes and of sanatorium and health resort treatment for the restoration of the worker's health was fully recognized. Upon the initiative of V. I. Lenin, the great landed estates with their shady parks and pine forests, the rich manufacturers' and mill-owners' villas and summer homes in the Crimea and the Caucasus on the coast of the Black Sea were converted into rest homes and sanatoriums. The Crimea and Caucasus became health resorts of the people. Later, the Soviet Government extended the network of rest homes and sanatoriums, allocating huge funds for this purpose and choosing the most beautiful and most healthful spots in the vast Land of the Soviets. In 1929 the trade unions spent 41,600,000 rubles for health resorts, sanatoriums and rest homes; in 1933 this sum had already increased to 238,000,000 rubles and in 1937 to 884,500,000 rubles.

Besides the trade union funds, large sums are assigned for sanatoriums, health resorts and rest homes from the State budget as well as from the budget of economic organisations and enterprises.

Special legislation for the protection of women and young workers has been enacted, taking into consideration the physical requirements of women and young people.

Female and juvenile labour is prohibited in particularly difficult and harmful trades. The lifting and carrying of heavy loads by women and juveniles is restricted by special standards. Juveniles are not permitted to work on night shifts. Pregnant women and nursing mothers are not allowed to work overtime or on night shifts. Expectant mothers are released from work 56 working days before and 56 days after confinement, receiving full pay for this period. The trade union organizations and the State build special rest homes for pregnant women. Nursing mothers are allowed thirty-minute intervals at the expense of the enterprise after every three hours' work to nurse their babies.

Many of the trade union committees in the factories and shops have provided well-furnished rooms for nursing mothers, where, besides nursing her baby, the woman receives a wholesome free lunch. In her fifth month of pregnancy a woman cannot be sent

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on any business trips; if necessary, the administration is obliged to transfer her to lighter work, with absolutely no reduction in her wages.

There is no private capitalist production in the Soviet Union, therefore there is no mad race for profits, serving as the major stimulus of production, as is the case in enterprises in all capitalist countries. In the capitalist factory labour protection measures are introduced only to the extent to which they increase the labour intensity of the workers, thus further increasing the profits of the manufacturer.

Labour protection in the U.S.S.R. aims at creating working conditions such as would eliminate all production hazards. This is why measures for improving the organization of production in any Soviet enterprise necessarily include measures for improving working conditions also.

Article 139 of the Labour Code declares:

"All enterprises and institutions must take the necessary measures for eliminating or reducing to a minimum all hazardous labour conditions, for preventing accidents and for the strict observance of sanitary regulations at the place of work, in accordance with the general and obligatory decrees issued for each branch of industry by the People's Commissariat of Labour." *

Decrees with regard to the sanitary conditions and safety measures in shops were drawn up on the basis of the latest scientific and technical data for each trade, taking into account its specific features. Scientific research institutes on labour protection are constantly working on questions of labour protection and safety devices, and their proposals are immediately put into effect.

Special attention is paid in the U.S.S.R. to safety inspection. Article 138 of the Labour Code declares:

"No enterprise may be opened, set into operation or transferred to another building without the sanction of the Labour Inspection organs, the industrial and technical sanitary inspection bodies."

The plan of every new enterprise must be approved by the labour inspectors, and must conform to the sanitary standards with respect to the volume of air, lighting arrangements, etc., the mechanization of the more laborious processes, removal of harmful gases and dust, proper ventilation, guards around the machines,

* Since the dissolution of the People's Commissariat of Labour, labour decrees are issued by the A.U.C.C.T.U., which now performs all functions formerly pertaining to the P.C.L.

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and other safety devices. No machine in the U.S.S.R. can be put into operation without the proper guards which are provided for it when the machine is constructed.

On all particularly hazardous jobs, as well as on jobs in abnormal temperature, special clothing and safety devices (goggles, masks, respirators, soap, etc.) are supplied to the workers at the expense of the enterprises. Large numbers of workers in hazardous trades also receive special foods such as fats and milk every day on the job. This includes workers attending to coke furnaces, employed in cyanide, refining and lead factories, most categories of workers in chemical plants, and workers of other industries who come in contact with poisons. These workers are always under the supervision of physicians, who examine them periodically and if necessary transfer them to other, less injurious work. The physicians also take all other necessary prophylactic measures. The Socialist reconstruction of industry in the U.S.S.R. has made labour conditions much more healthful and considerably reduced the number of injurious trades.

Since the dissolution of the People's Commissariat of Labour in 1933, labour protection and State control in the sphere of labour protection have been put in the charge of the biggest mass organization of the U.S.S.R.—the trade unions. Government inspectors and labour inspectors among the youth see to it that the labour laws are strictly observed; in addition there are sanitary and medical inspectors who pay attention to the sanitary state of the enterprise; safety inspectors, mostly engineers and technical workers, who see to the safety measures in the enterprises.

Every case of traumatism followed by disability must be investigated on the spot immediately by the labour inspectors, who draw their conclusions on measures to be taken for avoiding accidents in the future.

Work in the field of labour protection is carried on with the active participation of the masses of workers. In the shops of every factory labour inspectors are elected. The elected labour inspector works together with the labour protection commission set up by the trade union committee of the enterprise. The task of the labour protection commissions and the labour inspectors is to pay constant attention to sanitary conditions in the factory and to see to it that all the necessary safety measures are duly carried out. The labour protection commissions and labour inspectors at the enterprises work under the leadership of the Labour Inspection Depart-

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ment of the central committee of the trade union. The central committees of the unions choose their labour inspectors carefully, confirming the candidates at their plenums. In 1935 and 1936 the Labour Inspection Board had over 4,500 paid labour inspectors and 219,400 unpaid, elected labour inspectors on its rolls.

Soviet legislation provides for severe punishment of managements violating the laws on labour protection or failing to carry out the labour protection obligations undertaken in the agreement with the trade unions.

The trade unions in the U.S.S.R. have made tremendous advances in the sphere of making labour conditions more healthful and in reducing the sick rate and traumatism.

In tsarist Russia traumatism increased steadily. If we take traumatism in industry in 1902 as 100, we see that within a period of twelve years, 1902-14, it increased almost three and a half times, reaching 336.2 in 1914.

In the U.S.S.R. in eight years, 1926-34, traumatism was cut almost in half. If we take industrial traumatism in 1926 as 100, then in 1934 it equalled 58.6.

Data worked out by the A.U.C.C.T.U. show that traumatism in the most important branches of industry (machine building, iron and steel, coal, cotton) dropped 30-40 per cent from 1930 to 1935. In the clothing industry traumatism dropped 41.3 per cent, in the shoe industry 40.5 per cent and in the leather industry 60 per cent. The reduction in traumatism in the foremost enterprises of every branch of industry has been two, four and five times greater than the average decrease of traumatism in all the enterprises as a whole. Nevertheless, this reduction is by no means sufficient if compared with what can be accomplished, and has by no means exhausted all the possibilities.

Temporary disability due to traumatism in the machine building industry has been reduced 36.5 per cent among men and 30.8 per cent among women; at the Kolomna Works this decrease has reached 60.2 per cent among men and 41.2 per cent among women; at the Hammer and Sickle Works—46.5 per cent among men and 60 per cent among women; at the Krassny Profintern Works—42.2 per cent among men and 32.6 per cent among women. The same can be seen in other branches of industry also.

The sick-rate in the U.S.S.R. has dropped greatly, especially with regard to those illnesses which are most closely connected with the conditions of the organization of work.

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Pre-revolutionary Russia was a country where work meant physical exhaustion, difficult and strenuous manual labour. Thus, hernia, for example, was widespread both in town and countryside. Among the young men called up for service in the army 0.5 to 1.5 per cent were found unfit for service because of severe cases of hernia. Actually, however, the number of young workers and peasants of army age suffering from hernia was 9-10 times larger.

The Socialist industrialization of the entire national economy, mechanization of the more laborious processes, the elimination of a number of strenuous trades, have all created absolutely new labour conditions and have greatly reduced the sick rate. According to data on people called up for service, the sick rate dropped by 80-95 per cent from 1913 to 1935. If we take the decrease in diseases which is due to the improvement of labour and living conditions in the U.S.S.R., we see truly striking results of the Socialist organization of economy. Tuberculosis and other lung diseases—which Marx called a condition for the existence of capital—were extremely widespread in pre-revolutionary Russia. According to official, greatly understated, statistical data of tsarist Russia, 50 to 100 out of every 1,000 called up for military service were consumptive.

In the U.S.S.R. in 1935, in most districts the number of young people called up for service who were consumptive was only 10-5 per cent of the number for 1913.

The data of the A.U.C.C.T.U. for 1930-35 on temporary disability due to consumption reveals a marked decrease in tuberculosis of the lungs in the U.S.S.R. This decrease is even more marked among women than among men, particularly in those branches of industry where bourgeois science regards consumption as an occupational disease.

In the machine building industry temporary disability due to consumption dropped as follows in 1935 as compared to 1930: among men workers it dropped 31.4 per cent, among women workers—51.7 per cent; in foundries, among men—42.4 per cent, among women—67.6 per cent; in machine shops, among men—46.5 per cent, among women—70.7 per cent.

In the coal industry and in underground work tuberculosis dropped 13.3 per cent during this same period; among surface workers, it dropped 79 per cent among sorters and 57 per cent among haulers.

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In the cotton textile industry, which bourgeois science has long regarded as especially prone to a high rate of tuberculosis, the workers can record even greater gains in the reduction of the sick rate. The drop in tuberculosis among men amounts to 24 per cent and among women to 68.3 per cent; in the spinning mills this reduction is still higher—45.5 per cent among men and 77 per cent among women.

The health of women in the U.S.S.R. has greatly improved thanks to the fact that woman has equal rights, that there is special protection of female labour, that numerous measures for the protection of mother and child have been introduced, among the most important of which are the free services of qualified obstetricians. All this finds expression in the marked reduction in women's diseases, in the reduction in the number of still-born infants and infant mortality caused by debility at birth.

Data on temporary disability among women workers suffering from women's diseases show an even greater drop in the sick rate in branches of industry formerly considered too difficult for women. Thus, for the last five years the number of cases of disability among women as a result of women's diseases dropped 59 per cent in the machine building enterprises and 37 per cent in the coal mining industry, while it was 23 per cent in the cotton textile industry. In the U.S.S.R. in 1935 there were 1.5 still-born infants to every 10,000 of the population, *i.e.*, 30 per cent of the number in Germany, 25 per cent of the number in England and France, and 19 per cent of the number in Italy.

As a result of the marked reduction in infant mortality caused by debility at birth, in 1935 there were 7.7 cases of infant mortality in the U.S.S.R. to every 10,000 of the population, or 38.4 per cent of the number in Germany and 21.3 per cent of the number in Rumania.

Because of the great improvement in the living conditions of the Soviet working people, the increased prosperity and culture of the working people in town and countryside, the national and economic renaissance among all peoples of the Soviet Union, cases of trachoma, skin and venereal diseases, formerly so widespread among the working population of poverty-stricken and ignorant tsarist Russia, have notably decreased.

In 1935 cases of rejection for army service because of trachoma were approximately 10 per cent of the number for 1913.

The reduction in the number of persons affected with skin dis-

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cases can be noted most clearly in those localities where skin diseases had been most widespread. Thus, for example, in the Tatar A.S.S.R. in 1933 there were only 4.4 per cent of the number of persons suffering from skin diseases in 1913.

The number of persons infected with syphilis in the U.S.S.R. is 85 per cent less than it was before the war.

All-round improvement of the toilers' health, due to the Socialist organization of life and labour, has found its expression in improved general physical development.

A healthier generation is growing up under Soviet conditions, physically well developed. This is shown by the figures of the height, weight and chest expansion of the youth called up for military service. The difference between the physical development of workers, other employees and peasants is disappearing, thanks to the general improvement of living conditions in the U.S.S.R., where all basis for the exploitation of man by man, engendering class differences, has been done away with.

The physical development of the young people has been improving steadily, and particularly within the last two years of the Second Five-Year Plan period. The urban young men called up for military service in 1935 weighed 0.7 to 1.5 kilograms more than those called up in 1933. In some localities the average yearly increase in weight among the youth during this period was two to four times more than it was in the years of the First Five-Year Plan period.

In 1935 there were 90 per cent less physically under-developed people among the young men called up for military service than there were in 1913.

Great, indeed, are the results of the solicitude manifested for the person, for his working and living conditions by the trade union organizations, by the Soviet Government and the Communist Party.

VII. THE ABOLITION OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S.S.R.

The labour market in pre-revolutionary, tsarist Russia was stamped with the same features as were peculiar to all economically backward agrarian countries, where capitalist industry is still on a comparatively low stage of development and the agrarian system is permeated with survivals of feudalism. Its most conspicuous feature was the relative over-population of the rural areas. This had reached enormous dimensions, the surplus rural population may be estimated to have numbered some 30,000,000, or about 30 per cent of the total rural population. Large numbers of pauperized, semi-proletarianized peasants, who lacked the most elementary instruments of production, were obliged to remain in the villages and eke out a miserable existence by seasonal work and odd jobs.

Industry, transport and building were developing very slowly in tsarist Russia and the surplus rural population could not be absorbed quickly or sufficiently.

The second characteristic of the labour market in tsarist Russia was the existence of widespread chronic unemployment in the cities, typical also of the other capitalist countries. According to some data, the total number of unemployed during the winter months of 1900 to 1913 ranged between 400,000 and 500,000, this figure excluding the seasonal workers and peasants arriving from the village entering the labour market for the first time. According to census returns, the number of unemployed represented 4.3 per cent of the total number of all employed workers and other employees in St. Petersburg in 1911, 3.8 per cent in Moscow in 1912, and 5.9 per cent in Baku in 1913. These figures obviously give only a very incomplete idea of the real extent of unemployment, and in times of depression it was certainly very much worse.

Some idea of the extent of unemployment and over-population in tsarist Russia is given by the data on emigration. From 1901

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to 1915 over 2,574,000 Russians emigrated abroad, principally to the United States.

The third characteristic of the labour market in tsarist Russia was the extreme cheapness of labour power and the brutal exploitation of the workers. According to a special enquiry carried out in 1908 by the Ministry of Finance, an industrial worker earned an average of 20 50 rubles a month, or 246 rubles a year, whereas the net profit accruing to the capitalist from each worker averaged 252 rubles a year. It must also be borne in mind that various fines reduced the worker's earnings by a further 21 per cent (data for 1909).

According to the official returns of the factory inspectors, the average working day in 1913 was 9 92 hours (9-10 hours for 57 per cent of the workers and 10-12 hours for 34.4 per cent).

The fourth and distinguishing characteristic of the labour market in tsarist Russia was the tremendous seasonal exodus of peasants in search of employment. This movement increased steadily from an annual 60 per 1,000 of the rural population in 1871-80 to 94 per every 1,000 in 1906-10. According to the number of internal passports issued for periods of less than a year, the total number of seasonal workers who left their districts in search of employment in 1913 was 9,721,000. The average duration of this migration was 4.6 months in the year and the average annual earnings of the seasonal worker were 53.50 rubles.

The profound social changes brought about by the October Socialist Revolution radically changed the position with regard to the distribution of labour power in Soviet Russia. In describing these changes three very distinct periods must be distinguished. The first period lasted from 1918 to the end of the first half of 1921. This was the period of civil war, during which the economic policy was subordinated to the exigencies of the armed struggle, and which is known as the period of "War Communism." The second period includes the second half of 1921 to 1926-27. This was the period of "restoration," during which efforts were mainly directed towards restoring the basic branches of the national economy to their pre-war level, under the new forms of Soviet economy.

The third period is that of Socialist reconstruction, the years of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, during which Socialism was in the main constructed.

In 1918, 800,000 unemployed registered with the labour ex-

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changes, most of them being demobilized soldiers or workers discharged from enterprises of the munitions industry. At that time 64.4 jobs were available for every 100 applicants for employment.

But this unemployment was absorbed exceptionally quickly at that time and soon gave way to an acute shortage of labour power. To every 100 applications for employment in 1919 there were 114.9 vacancies, 167.8 in 1920 and 201.1 in the first half of 1921.

There was a serious shortage not only of skilled labour power, but even of unskilled labourers.

The major task in the years of the Civil War was to consolidate the fundamental gains of the October Socialist Revolution. The peasants had obtained possession of the land, in the villages committees of poor peasants were set up, which confiscated the implements and other means of production from the kulaks and distributed them among the village poor. This brought about a certain degree of levelling in the village. The section of the middle peasantry gained in importance and the number of poor peasants, proletarians and semi-proletarians, who before the Revolution formed 40-45 per cent of the agricultural holdings, was reduced by nearly one-half. At the same time the kulak group also dwindled.

As a result of this development the villages acquired a considerable power of attraction. Large numbers of the people who had left the villages flocked back from the cities. In 1920 the urban population was 33.4 per cent lower than in 1917.

Towards the end of the Civil War every lull at the front was utilized for dispatching whole armies from the battlefield to the labour front.

It must be noted, however, that although over-population in the village was somewhat reduced as a result of the growth of the class of middle peasants, rural over-population was by no means abolished, with results that were to become particularly evident during the period which followed.

The transition to the New Economic Policy (NEP) and the beginning of the process of restoring the national economy to its previous level directly influenced the distribution of labour power in the U.S.S.R. To every 100 applications for employment in 1921 there were 96 vacancies available, 66.7 in 1922 and 66.5 in 1923. Unemployment began to increase rapidly and the number of workers registered with the labour exchanges continued to grow.

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NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED REGISTERED WITH LABOUR EXCHANGES (In thousands)

1922	1923	1924
Jan. 1 . . 160.0	Jan. 1 . . 641.0	Jan. 1 . . 1,240.0
July 1 . . 407.5	July 1 . . 1,050.0	July 1 . . 1,344.3

These figures do not accurately represent the real extent of unemployment. Owing to the fact that there were no labour exchanges in some cities, the figures quoted here are incomplete. On the other hand, the labour exchange rolls included the names of people who were not genuinely unemployed, but simply wished to receive unemployment benefits or exemption from taxation, to acquire a new social status, or who merely wanted to get a new job through the labour exchange although they were already working. But in any case, the above figures do show that large numbers were unemployed and that unemployment was on the increase.

Of the unemployed in April 1927, 51.3 per cent were unskilled workers, 28.6 per cent were entering the labour market for the first time, 44 per cent were women and 16 per cent industrial workers.

In 1928, 1,576,000 were registered with labour exchanges.

The conditions under which unemployment grew in the U.S.S.R. during the restoration period differed radically from the conditions under which unemployment grows under capitalism. In capitalist Russia the unemployed were workers, employees, pauperized peasants and artisans who had been thrown out of production. Unemployment, which increased impoverishment, lowered the living standard and wages of the employed workers.

The unemployment which appeared in Soviet Russia during the period of economic restoration was mainly distinguished by the fact that it developed at a time when production, both industrial and agricultural, was rapidly expanding and when the number of workers and other employees employed in the various branches of the national economy was rising very considerably. It is sufficient to mention that since 1921 the output of large-scale industry had risen from 2,000,000,000 rubles to 12,700,000,000 rubles (in prices current in 1926-27). The number of workers employed in large-scale industry had risen from 1,200,000 at the end of 1921 to 2,439,000 in 1926-27, and the total number of workers and other employees employed in all branches of the national economy

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had increased from 7,300,000 in 1923-24 to nearly 11,000,000 in 1926-27. The annual increase in the number of workers and other employees was therefore over a million.

Thus the increase in unemployment in this period was not due to the shrinkage of production, but, on the contrary, it developed at a time when economic expansion was in full swing and extra labour power was required.

It was precisely this demand for labour power that drew the surplus population which had hitherto stagnated in the villages to the cities.

Another distinguishing characteristic of unemployment in the U.S.S.R. in that period was the fact that it developed at a time when the standard of living of the masses was rising very rapidly in the cities. Real wages, which in 1921 had fallen to 8.65 rubles (in prices of 1913), or 34.6 per cent of the pre-war level, had again risen to 9.47 rubles in 1922, 13.50 rubles in 1923, 17.50 rubles in 1924, 25.18 rubles in 1925, reaching 27.63 rubles in 1926 or 110.5 per cent of the pre-war level. To this we must add food rations, free medical aid and other privileges enjoyed by the workers, which in 1926 represented a further addition of 35 per cent to their wages.

The third distinguishing characteristic of unemployment in that period was that the standard of living in the villages, from which there had been an exodus of persons in search of work, not only was not falling but was constantly rising.

In summing up it may be concluded that in the restoration period the increase in unemployment in the U.S.S.R. was accompanied by a steady increase in the number of employed workers and other employees and a continuous rise in the standard of living.

And finally, another cause of unemployment in that period was the reduction of the staffs of Government and administrative departments, which had swelled to excessive proportions during the period of War Communism.

The above analysis of the fundamental causes of unemployment in the restoration period proves that unemployment could not be finally and totally abolished except by a series of co-ordinated measures for industrial expansion and the reconstruction of agriculture on an entirely new basis. It was necessary once and for all to drive pauperism out of the village and to stamp out every possibility for the formation and existence of village

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poor in the future. This was the task of the following period, the period of reconstruction.

The Soviet trade unions took a most active part in combating unemployment, as well as in rendering aid to the unemployed.

The trade unions put forth their candidates to act as managers of labour exchanges and their sections. The trade unions participated in fixing benefit rates, which reached as much as 50 per cent of the worker's former average wages; they supervised the payment of these benefits; and, finally, the trade unions and their inter-union organizations helped to organize work for the unemployed and placed them on jobs. It must also be noted that the law provided that the trade unions had to register the unemployed in localities which had no labour exchanges. The trade unions rendered additional aid to the unemployed from funds specially assigned for this purpose.

The principal characteristic of the labour market in the period of the First Five-Year Plan was the total disappearance of unemployment. It was due to the following two main factors that this goal was achieved: first, the decisive steps taken for the rapid industrialization of the country on a Socialist basis, and, second, the collectivization of the peasant farms and the consequent abolition of the kulaks as a class.

The rapid pace at which the industrialization of the country proceeded naturally resulted in a steadily increasing demand for labour power in all branches of national economy. Although labour productivity was increasing at a rate unparalleled in history, the number of employed workers also continued to rise rapidly.

AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF WORKERS AND OTHER EMPLOYEES

(In thousands)

Branches of Industry	1928	1932	1934	1935	1936
All branches . . .	11,599	22,942.8	23,681.2	24,717.1	25,755.7
Including:					
Large-scale industry .	3,096	6,481.3	6,530.7	7,083.0	7,722.3
Transport	1,270	2,222.0	2,555.6	2,881.1	2,993.5

And this great increase took place even though the labour productivity of the workers in industry during the First Five-Year Plan period had doubled as compared with pre-war years.

During the first two years of the First Five-Year Plan period, 1928 to 1930, various branches of the national economy absorbed

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3,000,000 additional workers. In 1927-28 to every 100 applications for employment there were 125.2 vacancies, in 1928-29—171, and in the first half of 1930—174.7.

During this period the labour exchanges more than ever devoted their efforts to organizing vocational training for those people who were still unemployed, mainly young people.

In 1927-28 the labour exchanges provided vocational training for 49,100 people. In 1928-29 this form of assistance to the unemployed was considerably extended, 83,000 persons learning new trades through the labour exchanges. In 1929-30 this number increased fourfold, to 336,000. During those years the labour exchanges alone spent hundreds of millions of rubles on vocational training for the unemployed, besides which the employing organizations sent nearly 100,000 young people to technical and factory schools.

The unemployment of the preceding years vanished completely. In industry, transport and all branches of economic life, in all spheres of cultural activity the need for fresh labour power was growing more and more insistent. The situation became very serious, in some cases endangering the fulfilment of production plans.

Under these circumstances there was no need actually for the further existence of the labour exchanges. All that remained was to record the complete disappearance of unemployment and to dissolve the labour exchanges. The complete and final abolition of unemployment in the U.S.S.R. in 1930 was rendered possible by the fact that the process of the rapid industrialization of the country on a Socialist basis was reinforced by the creation of a powerful system of agriculture, also on a Socialist basis—that is to say, by the collectivization of agriculture and the abolition of the kulaks as a class.

The abolition of unemployment has exercised a profound influence on the economic development of the U.S.S.R. and still continues to do so. Without radical changes in the direction of the extensive mechanization of labour, it would have been quite impossible, under the altered conditions, to increase production at the pace for which the plan provided. Firmly rejecting all counsel of the Rights (Tomsky and Co.) against the greater mechanization of labour, the Soviet Government began methodically and progressively to introduce the most modern types of machinery in all the most important branches of the national economy.

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Although the introduction of machinery met with great difficulties at first, they were soon overcome, and in a remarkably short space of time the U.S.S.R. succeeded in overtaking some of the most technically advanced countries in the field of mechanization. By 1924, for example, coal cutting in the Donetz Basin was mechanized to the extent of 79.1 per cent, the transport of coal in the same area was mechanized 86.7 per cent and haulage 44.6 per cent. The U.S.S.R. now holds first place in the world as regards the mechanization of agriculture.

The prophecies of the Rights to the effect that mechanization would spell renewed unemployment have proved false. In the U.S.S.R., where the means of production are public property, machinery is no longer a strange and hostile force for the workers and peasants. The workers are no longer the slaves of the machine, they are its masters. The machine has ceased to be an enemy of the worker, it has become his helper.

While establishing, through the mechanization of labour, the primary conditions for a rational use of labour, the U.S.S.R. has also undertaken a thorough reorganization of the methods of training and recruiting workers.

In the course of the First Five-Year Plan period the number of workers and other employees in the U.S.S.R. doubled. Taking into account the natural decrease due to death, old-age, invalidity, or departures to training schools, the number of new workers and other employees absorbed by production from 1928 to 1932 was 12,500,000, of whom 8,600,000 had come from the village. Since the spontaneous flow of labour from the villages to the cities had ceased by this time, these millions of new workers could be provided only through the system of special agreements concluded between the collective farms and the industrial administrative bodies, according to which the collective farms pledged to send a certain number of their members to work in the cities in return for specific economic, technical and cultural assistance from these bodies, over and above the pay, of course, which the workers received for their labour according to the agreement.

One of the effects of the abolition of unemployment has been to change the composition of the workers. There has been a marked increase in the number of women and young workers employed.

The demand for skilled labour in the Soviet Union is actually unlimited. The entire population of the country is studying assiduously. Millions of peasants are rapidly mastering the use of

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tractors, combines and other complex machines. Agricultural labour within only a few years has undergone a visible transformation, becoming a form of industrial activity. Thus, the prerequisites have been created for the abolition of all distinction between town and country.

At the present time, nearly all workers and other employees, from the highest Government official to the simplest labourer, are studying the theory and practice of their respective fields of work, with State support and at State expense.

* * *

A review of the labour market in the U.S.S.R. today may be summarized in but a few words: Not only has unemployment been completely abolished in the Soviet Union, but the causes which breed it have also been abolished.

After abolishing unemployment and checking the spontaneous flow of labour from the villages to the cities, Soviet economy has created its own planned system of recruiting and distributing labour power. In order to meet the enormous demand of the country for labour power, in the full tide of the country's economic development, recourse was had to the methodical training of skilled workers and specialists and the organized recruiting of labour through special agreements between the enterprises and the collective farms (contract system).

The abolition of unemployment is a most important achievement of the working class and the trade unions in the U.S.S.R. The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. are no longer obliged to concern themselves with unemployment relief; they no longer have to spend their own as well as State funds for unemployment insurance, for the Socialist Revolution has rid the working class of the pangs of poverty, hunger, want and unemployment.

Instead, all attention and means are devoted to vocational training and raising the standard of skill of the workers. Unemployment, the scourge of the working class, the permanent and menacing attendant of the workers in the capitalist countries, *has been abolished forever in the U.S.S.R.*

VIII. CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE TRADE UNIONS

In comparison with the West-European countries, pre-revolutionary Russia was an extremely backward country, with a poorly developed industry, with feudal survivals in agriculture, a country in which the masses had been subjected to brutal exploitation and oppression for ages, a country where 73 per cent of the adult population was illiterate, and where only about 2.8 per cent of the people of the many nationalities of the border regions was literate.

The tsarist government spent ten times as much for the maintenance of prisons, the police, churches and the House of Romanov as it did for public education. In 1913 only 137,000,000 rubles were allocated for public education.

Tsarist Russia was a country of many nationalities. Lenin called it a prison of nations. The military-feudal oppressors not only deprived the non-Russian peoples of their best land by force of arms, not only imposed heavy taxes on them, but also restricted the right of these oppressed nationalities to use their native tongue and carried on a policy of Russification in all schools. It is small wonder, then, that of the 175 nationalities 124 never had a written language before the Revolution.

"Tsarist Russia," Comrade Stalin said, "was the home of oppression of every kind—capitalist, colonial and militarist—of oppression in its most inhuman and barbarous form."

Only the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, by abolishing economic, political and national oppression, ensured the working masses the full right to work, rest and education. It roused the great creative initiative of the masses. The schools and universities, the theatres, the cinema, the museums and libraries have become the property of all the working people.

"In the past the human mind, with all its genius, created only for the sake of providing some with all the blessings of technique and culture, while depriving others of what is most indispensable—of education

* Stalin. *Leninism*, Vol. I, page 17.

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and development. Now, however, all the wonders of technique, all the gains of culture will become the property of the whole people, and from now on never will the human mind and genius be converted into a means of violence, into a means of exploitation. We know this—and does it not pay to work, does it not pay to give all our forces for the sake of this great historic task? And the toilers will cope with this titanic historic task, for in them are latent the vast dormant forces of the revolution, of regeneration and reconstruction.”¹

And truly, during the twenty years of Soviet rule, what formerly was Russia has changed beyond recognition.

In the course of the first two Five-Year Plan periods (1928 to 1937) the national income of the U.S.S.R. has risen from 25 billion to 97.7 billion rubles. Correspondingly, the sums spent for public education in the U.S.S.R. increased from 643,000,000 rubles in 1927-28 to 13,916,000,000 rubles in 1936 and to a planned 18,270,000,000 rubles in 1937. This has created the necessary material base for a great flourishing of culture, Socialist in content and national in form.

Let us cite a few facts which clearly reveal the growth of education in the U.S.S.R. for the last twenty years (from 1917 to 1937).

One of the greatest obstacles in the way of building Socialism was illiteracy and semi-literacy, a heritage of tsarist Russia. Lenin time and again emphasized:

“As long as there is such a thing as illiteracy in our country it is too difficult to talk about political education. This is not a political problem, it is a condition without which it is impossible to talk about politics. An illiterate person is outside politics, he must first of all be taught the alphabet. Without that there can be no politics, without that there are only rumours, gossip, fables and prejudices, but not politics.”²

The eradication of illiteracy was one of the major tasks of the cultural revolution. And thanks to the efforts of the Party, the Soviet Government and the trade unions for the twenty years of the Proletarian Revolution, over 90 per cent of the adult population in the U.S.S.R. is now literate. From 1929 to 1936 approximately 40,000,000 adults were taught to read and write.

Under the Socialist system there has been an exceptionally rapid cultural development of the formerly backward peoples, who in pre-revolutionary Russia were under the iron heel of the military-feudal oppressors. Literacy among the population today, as compared with pre-revolutionary days, has increased as follows: in the Kabardino-Balkarian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic from

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, page 225 (Russ. ed.).

** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 274 (Eng. ed.).

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2 per cent to 95 per cent in 1936; in the Chuvash A.S.S.R. from 18 per cent to 95 per cent in 1937; in the Kalmyk A.S.S.R. from 2.3 per cent to 86 per cent in 1933; in the Yakut A.S.S.R. from 2 per cent to 60 per cent in 1935; in the Udmurt A.S.S.R. from 8.6 per cent to 94 per cent in 1935, etc.

By decree of the Government and the Party all cultural forces have been mobilized for completely eliminating illiteracy and semi-literacy throughout the Soviet Union in 1936-37. Without the complete elimination of illiteracy it is impossible to carry out successfully the task set by Comrade Stalin of raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technical workers. The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. constitute an important factor in the matter of carrying out this task. In 1936 alone the trade unions eliminated illiteracy and semi-literacy among 1,144,511 persons; in 1937 the trade unions are teaching 952,000 illiterate persons and 2,179,000 semi-literates.

According to the Stalin Constitution the right to a free education is secured to every citizen of the U.S.S.R.

The number of schools and school children has grown tremendously since October 1917. Whereas before the Revolution, in 1914-15, only 7,801,000 children attended the elementary and secondary schools in Russia, in the U.S.S.R. by 1927-28 this number had grown to 11,300,000, in 1932-33 to 21,800,000, in 1935-36 to 27,418,000, and in 1937 to 30,033,000.

The number of teachers in the elementary and secondary schools of the U.S.S.R. has increased from 322,347 in 1920-21 to 752,326 in 1935-36. In tsarist Russia in 1914-15 there were only 180,438 teachers. The tsarist government found it expedient to pay the village policeman more than it did the teacher.

Under Soviet conditions teachers are regarded with respect and love by the entire working population.

"The school teacher," Lenin said, "must be raised in our country to a plane to which he never could, never does and never will be able to rise in bourgeois society." *

The genuine solicitude of the Socialist State for teachers is shown by the increase of the general wage fund for the teachers by 1,230,000,000 rubles in 1936.

While the percentage of literate people in pre-revolutionary Russia was low in general, the number of children of workers and peasants accepted in the secondary schools and universities was

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, page 389 (Russ. ed.).

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still lower. A university education was the privilege of the exploiting classes—of the nobles, the bourgeoisie, the clergy and high officials.

In 1887 the Tsarist Minister of Public Education issued a special edict prohibiting the admission of children of lower estates into secondary schools, in order to "avoid having children of coachmen, footmen, cooks, small shopkeepers and their like admitted to the *gymnasiums*, children who, with the exception of the few naturally gifted, should not be taken from the environment to which they belong."

In reply to the appeal of the peasants of the village of Pomozdino, Komi Region, to the State Duma, asking for permission to open a secondary school which they built with their own money, the Black-Hundred member of the tsarist Duma Purishkevich replied: "What education do the common people, the peasants, need? It is quite enough for them to know the elements of reading and writing, they need not dream of anything more."

And even in the most democratic bourgeois countries (America, England and France), the masses of working people really have no opportunity of getting a university education, although according to law they have the right to it. In fascist Germany the number of students in the universities decreased from 137,200 in 1930-31 to 89,100 in 1934-35.

In the U.S.S.R. the number of university students has grown enormously. Whereas there were only 124,700 students in the universities in tsarist Russia in 1914-15, in the U.S.S.R. in 1924-25 there were 163,400 university students, in 1933-34—417,000, and in 1935-36—524,800. In the technical schools the number of pupils increased from 48,000 in 1914-15 to 164,500 in 1924-25, 601,600 in 1933-34, and 711,100 in 1935-36. In addition there were 43,300 students in workers' faculties in 1924-25 and 250,800 students in 1935-36.

The number of cultural and educational establishments in the U.S.S.R. has increased particularly rapidly during the years of the First and Second Five-Year Plan periods. The number of clubs and village libraries increased from 26,500 in 1928 to 71,700 in 1936. In 1936 there were 263 parks of culture and rest. Approximately sixty million people visited these parks in 1936. The number of cinema houses increased from 7,251 in 1928 to 27,863 in 1936. In 1936 there were 768 theatres, playing in 50 different languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The number of museums grew from 100

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in 1917 to 738 in 1936. Approximately 22,000,000 people visited the museums of the U.S.S.R. in 1935.

In tsarist Russia before the war, in 1914, there were only 859 newspapers, with a total circulation of 2,729,000; in the U.S.S.R. in 1937 there are 9,250 newspapers, with a total daily circulation of over 38,000,000.

The papers published by the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. for the last few years (1933 to 1936) had an annual circulation of over 44,000,000. In addition, the periodicals published by the trade unions had an annual circulation of over 4,000,000.

The Stalin Constitution guarantees all peoples in the U.S.S.R. the right and affords them every opportunity to develop their own culture in their native languages. Thus, for example, in 1935 598 books, 26 magazines and 64 newspapers were published in the Armenian language; in the Bashkirian language—239 books, 5 magazines and 20 newspapers; in the Byelorussian language—805 books, 17 magazines and 304 newspapers; in the Ukrainian language—2,858 books, 135 magazines and 1,960 newspapers; in the Georgian language—637 books, 31 magazines and 107 newspapers; in the Kirghiz language—106 books, 3 magazines and 16 newspapers; in the Jewish language—412 books, 10 magazines and 27 newspapers; in the Finnish-Karelian language—321 books, 8 magazines and 18 newspapers; in the Russian language—30,183 books, 1,686 magazines and 6,635 newspapers, etc.

Books and newspapers are published in 105 languages in the U.S.S.R.

The number of public libraries increased from 12,600 in 1914 to 32,500 in 1932 and to 55,300 by October 1, 1936. The total number of books in all libraries in 1936 was 105,300,000.

Thus, all working men and women in the U.S.S.R., irrespective of nationality, have the possibility of satisfying their cultural requirements in their own native language.

One of the major tasks of the trade unions in the U.S.S.R. is the task of educating the masses in the spirit of Communism. The trade unions have vast organizational and material means at their disposal for carrying on this work. In 1932, 475,100,000 rubles were spent from the trade union budget for cultural and educational work; in 1936 this sum grew to 958,200,000 rubles, or 56.8 per cent of the total trade union budget. In addition, 611,500,000 rubles of the State social insurance funds were spent in 1936 for cultural and educational measures.

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The trade unions use the houses of culture, the clubs, Red Corners and parks of culture and rest as centres for carrying on their mass cultural work. The increase in the number of trade union clubs and libraries can be seen from the following data:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Clubs</i>	<i>Libraries</i>	<i>Number of books in libraries</i>
1923	1,951	1,906	3,611,870
1928	3,857	9,226	20,873,000
1937	5,759	c. 13,000	c. 42,000,000

The trade union clubs and houses of culture built in recent years were built with a view to affording the visitor every facility for rest and recreation. The clubs are provided with auditoriums, comfortably furnished rest-rooms, reading rooms, study rooms for classes, children's rooms, etc.

The clubs and houses of culture, the Red Corners and shops in many factories have radios. The trade unions have equipped 4,000 central receiving stations with 500,000 extensions at their own expense. In 1935 and 1936 the trade unions spent 42,000,000 rubles for radio equipment.

There are numerous study circles in the trade union clubs and houses of culture. All kinds of educational circles, political study circles, technical, literary and foreign language circles have been organized; besides, there are many choruses, music, dramatic and dancing circles, fine arts circles, etc. In the fourth quarter of 1933 the trade union clubs had 28,766 circles, and figures for January 1, 1937, showed that their number had already increased to 46,302, attended by 965,784 persons.

However, the urge on the part of the workers and other employees of the U.S.S.R. to raise their cultural standards and to manifest their creative ability in popular art is so great that the trade union clubs are unable to satisfy all their demands. Therefore, many of the circles are organized by the local trade union committees in the Red Corners of factories and institutions. The number of circles in enterprises increased from 119,936 in the fourth quarter of 1929 to 242,590, attended by 4,403,300 persons, by January 1, 1937.

The music circles at many of the trade union clubs have been reorganized into schools, with classes in music, singing and dancing. The music school at the club of the Aviakhim Works in Moscow, for example, is attended by 700 workers.

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The city, regional and all-Union amateur entertainment reviews and olympiads organized by the trade unions show how extremely successful the members of these circles are in really learning the art of music, singing and national dances. Many members of trade union club circles participated in the international London festival, where they took first place for their performance of national dances.

The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. as schools for re-educating the masses, for teaching them how to manage and how to rule, as schools of Communism, take a most active part in building the new Socialist State, take an active part in the political and economic life of the country, in strengthening the defensive capacity of the country.

The Stalin Constitution guarantees the trade unions the right to nominate their candidates for elections to the supreme bodies of the State on the basis of universal, equal suffrage by secret ballot. The trade unions carry on political education work with a view to drawing their twenty-two million members into the task of ruling the Socialist State, with a view to making them into conscious fighters for building a Communist society. Large numbers of political circles in trade union clubs and in the factories and institutions are making a study of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., are familiarizing the workers with current politics, and with the life and struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. Thus, on January 1, 1937, 71,384 political study circles were attended by 493,920 union members; 10,256 circles, attended by 185,249 members, were making a study of the trade union movement. In addition to these circles reports, lectures, and newspaper readings are held in the clubs and Red Corners of the enterprises on various political subjects.

One of the most important tasks of the trade unions is the task of imbuing the masses with a spirit of internationalism.

The working people of the Soviet Union are particularly interested in events taking place in Spain and China. Hundreds and thousands of reports are made on the revolutionary struggle of the Spanish people against the fascists and on the struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism.

Upon the initiative of the women workers of the Trekhgornaya Textile Mill in Moscow the Soviet trade unions organized collections and sent foodstuffs to the mothers and children of Spain, victims of fascist terror.

Of no less interest is the mass cultural work carried on by the

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trade unions of the U.S.S.R. Thus, for example, in the fourth quarter of 1936, in 64,430 enterprises and 4,242 clubs there were 342,598 lectures and reports; 203,161 socials in honour of Stakhanovites and workers of long standing, 400,507 cinema shows, 146,487 plays and concerts, 52,754 amateur entertainments and 39,370 excursions. These were attended by several million members of the unions and their families.

The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. also devote much attention to organizing recreation for the workers and other employees after working hours and on off-days. In this respect they display genuine solicitude for people. In the bigger cities (Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Tbilisi and others) mass outings and picnics to the parks of culture and rest are held; in 1936 these mass outings were attended by sixty million people. In 1936 the Central Park of Culture and Rest in Moscow was visited by 11,500,000 persons. Approximately 600,000 children visited the special children's grounds of the park. Although the parks of culture and rest are administered by the local Soviets, the trade unions take a very active part in the work of the parks, allocating special sums from their social insurance and trade union budgets for mass entertainments in these parks.

Travel tours and mountain-climbing are becoming extremely popular in the U.S.S.R. In 1932, 4,690,000 people were taking part in all kinds of sports; in 1935—9,000,000 people, and in 1937—10,000,000 people, among whom there are over 2,000,000 women.

In 1937 the total expenditure for sports (from funds allotted by the State, by the People's Commissariats, by the trade unions and by the various sports organizations, such as the Dynamo Sports Society, the Spartacus Sports Society, etc.) amounted to over 500,000,000 rubles. From 1932 to 1936 the trade unions alone spent 390,100,000 rubles from their budget for sports.

The number of sports establishments are growing from year to year. In 1937 there were 30 physical culture schools in the U.S.S.R., 400 stadiums, 60 of which seat 5,000 and more people each, 6,500 athletic fields, 1,500 gymnasiums, 2,500 skiing centres, 390 outdoor swimming-pools and boat houses, 4,500 shooting ranges, 20 bicycle tracks, 10 indoor swimming-pools and 120 Houses of Physical Culture. Of these the trade unions have charge of 153 stadiums, 578 athletic fields, 21 Houses of Physical Culture, 438 gymnasiums, 111 skiing centres, and 135 outdoor swimming-pools and boat houses.

From all this it is clear that the Soviet trade unions are very much concerned with the physical development of the working people.

The most widespread method of developing the physique of the working people in the U.S.S.R. takes the form of training for the "Prepared for Labour and Defence" (G.T.O.) physical culture tests.

There are two grades of tests, one elementary, one more advanced. Any physically fit person of either sex can pass the first test without having to undergo any particularly long training. Of course the tests take into consideration the age and sex of the person. The first test consists of the following: 100, 500 and 1,000 metre runs, high and broad jumps, rope-climbing, 100 metre swim, diving, skiing, bicycle riding, etc. By 1937, 4,500,000 people had passed their first grade "G.T.O." tests.

The advanced or second grade "G.T.O." test is more difficult and requires much greater skill as well as a perfect physique and a strong constitution. It requires long training and real athletic ability. These tests include: 60 metre dash in 10-12 seconds (depending upon age and sex); cross-country run, for men—5 kilometres in 22-24 minutes, for women—1 kilometre in 4-5 minutes; walking, for men—35 kilometres (wearing a gas-mask for 1 kilometre of the way) in 8 hours; for women 25 kilometres in 6 hours; high jump, 125 to 140 centimetres; 200 to 400 metre swim, 3-5 metre high dive, knowledge of how to drive an automobile, bicycle run of 50 to 100 kilometres, horseback riding 15-30 kilometres; 8-12 metre ski-jump, etc. Despite these considerably higher requirements, 25,000 sportsmen had passed the advanced "G.T.O." tests by 1937.

There are 99 sportsmen in the U.S.S.R. who have established all-Union sports records. Soviet sportsmen hold 26 world sports records.

The Soviet trade unions have been in charge of organizing travel tours and excursions since 1935. The "Society of Proletarian Travel Tours and Excursions" (OPTT) organized tours and excursions to various parts of the U.S.S.R. for 33,934 persons in 1933, 69,940 persons in 1934, and 82,416 persons in 1936. Besides this the OPTT has helped individual tourists make tours along routes they chose for themselves: in 1933—52,700 persons and in 1935—127,871 persons.

In 1935, 3,472,556 people went on excursions on their off-days.

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In tsarist Russia from 1828 to 1911 only 59 people ascended Mt. Elbruz, of whom 47 were foreigners. In the U S S R the number of mountain ascents increased as follows:

	<i>Mt Elbruz</i>	<i>Mt Kazbek</i>
1933	110	18
1934	385	1,200
1935	2,016	1,500

All these facts and figures are a clear indication of the fact that a genuine development of popular culture and the creative initiative of the people is possible only after the abolition of the exploiting classes and the building of a Socialist society.

IX. TRADE UNION WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. have always attached major significance to strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, for a strong and indissoluble alliance between the workers and peasants is the best guarantee for all the successes of the Land of the Soviets.

The trade unions in the U.S.S.R. are doing a great deal in the countryside to help in strengthening the State and collective farms organizationally and economically.

In 1929, when millions of peasants in the U.S.S.R. decisively entered upon the path of collectivization, the working class put all its efforts into assisting the peasantry in building up and strengthening the collective farm system. Trade union work in the countryside expressed itself primarily in sending people and supplies there, in rendering cultural aid, etc.

Of extreme importance in the organization of the collective farms was the step taken by the trade unions in the period of 1929-32, when they sent 25,000 of their best members, experienced workers, to help in the collective farm movement by directing the work of the collective farms.

Besides sending workers from the city to help direct the work of the collective farms, the trade unions did a great deal to develop the movement on the part of factories and mills for taking collective farms under their patronage. This was a movement of urban workers whereby they helped to organize thousands of collective farms and scores of thousands of collective farm shock brigades. Having familiarized themselves with the way work was organized in the given locality, the shock brigades of the factories and mills shared their experiences with the collective farmers and told them how they organized their work in their own enterprises. Brigades of factory workers would be attached to collective farm field brigades. Many workers' brigades were sent to the village to repair the agricultural machinery and implements of the collective farms, and to help the collective farmers prepare for the various agricultural drives (sowing, harvesting, marketing, etc.).

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In 1930 the trade unions sent 180,000 workers to assist the collective farms, to repair agricultural machinery, etc. In 1931 only 90,000 workers were sent, which can be explained by the growing number of machine and tractor stations, repair shops, etc., in the village.

The trade union organizations and patronage societies helped the collective farms train tractor drivers, combine operators and chauffeurs, helped them draw up study programs, sending textbooks, consulting with them and dispatching experienced worker-instructors and teachers.

Through their engineering and technical sections the trade unions helped the collective farms in their construction work.

The following are but a few examples of how the workers, on the initiative of the trade unions, took the collective farms under their patronage.

The Electrozavod Plant in Moscow took patronage over the Novo-Derevensky District in the Moscow Region. In 1932 the plant sent 600 of its best shock workers to this district to help in the sowing, harvesting, and marketing of grain. These workers also helped the collective farmers expose 200 kulaks, and disclosed activities of kulaks in 12 organizations.

The workers of Electrozavod together with the Moscow Power Institute helped the local authorities build two district electric power stations. And in the autumn of 1932 electric lamps could be seen lighting up many of the villages for the first time.

The Electrozavod workers established 4 medical centres and 12 playgrounds in the Novo-Derevensky District.

By sending some of the best specialists of the Electrozavod dispensary to the district the workers rendered effective medical aid to the collective farmers and children of the district.

From the funds of the patronage organizations of Electrozavod (membership dues, and funds allocated by the trade union committee) 3,000 rubles' worth of spare parts for agricultural machines were bought and sent to the district, also 4 carloads of iron and 6 tons of sheet iron; besides 2,000 rubles in cash were sent as prizes for the best collective farmers.

Seven of the best bookkeepers of Electrozavod volunteered to go to the district for permanent work to help keep the books and accounts of the collective farms in good order.

In 1932 the Molotov Automobile Works in the city of Gorky

had patronage over the districts of Aizamass, Kotelnich and Shablino. Twenty brigades were sent by the plant to the collective farms.

The brigades consisted of workers—filters, smiths, etc., and of workers who carried on mass cultural work. The brigades brought with them two carloads of hatchets, pails and other household necessities, 25 cases of iron, two crates of glass, 20 travelling libraries, portable cinema apparatus and other things.

As a result of the growth of the State farms and machine and tractor stations the agricultural working class has increased considerably in recent years. The formerly illiterate and backward agricultural labourers, toiling for the kulak, have been replaced by a new and large section of skilled workers—tractor drivers, combine operators, chauffeurs, etc

The agricultural workers' unions (the union of workers of the State beet farms, of the State vegetable farms, State orchards and vineyards, State cotton farms, State wine growers' farms, State sheep-breeding farms, State horse-breeding ranches, State poultry and fur-bearing animal farms, State meat and dairy farms and the machine and tractor stations of grain farms) had a membership of 1,807,000 on April 1, 1937. These unions have done and are doing important work in passing on the experiences acquired in the Socialist organization of labour, in Socialist competition, in Stakhanov methods of work, etc., to the collective farmers.

"Of all existing and potential propagandists of the collective farm movement," Comrade Stalin said, "the worker-propagandists are the best for carrying on propaganda among the peasant masses." (*Leninism*, Vol II, "A Year of Great Change.")

Through the workers' patronage societies, the workers in industry share the experiences they gain in their work and in the organization of labour with the State and collective farms.

The Stakhanov movement, which sprang up in industry and transport, rapidly spread to agriculture, to the State and collective farms.

The whole world has heard the names of the initiators of the Stakhanov movement on the Socialist fields—Maria Demchenko, Marina Gnatenko, Pasha Angelina and Pasha Kovardak. And there are hundreds and thousands of other heroines of Socialist labour in Soviet agriculture.

By decree of the Soviet Government of December 13, 1935, 195 workers were awarded the Order of Lenin, the Order of the Red

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Banner of Labour or the Badge of Honour for their excellent work on combines, work in which they surpassed their quotas by 100 to 400 per cent.

The educational workers' union, government employees' union, the trading workers' union and the bank employees' union maintain close contact with the countryside and together with the outstanding workers of the State farms, factories and mills they carry on a great deal of work in the matter of raising the educational and cultural standards of the collective farmers, helping them particularly to study and learn all about agronomy and to acquire a political education.

The trade union bodies in the village—the workers' committees—call production conferences regularly in the trade union groups and in the tractor drivers' brigades, where all problems concerning their work are taken up. In many places production conferences are held daily, after work, when the results of the work of every brigade for the day are discussed.

The trade union organizations in the cities sent special workers' brigades to help the Political Departments in the countryside with their work. Many of the trade union committees of the factories and mills sent printing machines to the villages over which they held patronage, and paper for the Political Department newspapers, which reflect the life of the collective farms of the given district and the degree to which the machine and tractor stations cope with their tasks.

X. WOMEN IN THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

In tsarist Russia the working woman was undoubtedly the most downtrodden being, triply oppressed—politically, economically and at home. The working women and peasant women were deprived of even those few political rights which the men had.

Although she worked her hand to the bone, a woman was still dependent economically upon her father or husband. She received only half the pay a man received for the same work.

The tsarist laws discriminated against women in respect to marital and family rights, her rights with regard to the child, etc.

At home the woman was bowed-down by petty, harking, everyday cares. She had to count every kopek, scrimp and scrape in the effort to make ends meet. Slaving in the mill or on the fields from early morning till late at night, the woman left her children to the mercy of fate, with no one to look after them. Protection of female labour and maternity insurance never existed in tsarist Russia. Pregnant working women were not given or allowed any leave by the factory, and often gave birth to their babies at the very bench. It was quite common for a peasant woman to give birth to her child right out in the field where she worked. Small wonder, then, that in tsarist Russia the average life span of a woman was thirty-three, that women's diseases were so widespread, and that the infant mortality rate in tsarist Russia was higher than it was in many other capitalist countries. Thus, in 1905, the mortality of infants under one year per 100 births was: in the U.S.A.—10, in England—13, in France—14, in Italy—17, in Germany—19, and in Russia—27. According to statistics for 1911, in the principal provinces of European Russia over one-third of all newly-born infants died, while in the borderlands and national regions infant mortality reached menacing proportions. The population of the national regions, under the double yoke of tsarist autocracy and the violence of the rich, were doomed to extinction and degeneration.

The Soviet Government was the first and only State in the world to abolish all the old, despicable bourgeois laws on the inequality of women. The Soviet Government not only established equal rights for women, but at the same time it devotes special

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attention and care to the mother. From the backward and down-trodden woman of the past the Soviet woman has come to the fore in the work of administering the State, has developed her natural abilities and has thus become a complete equal not only before the law, but also in actual life.

In 1934, 88 per cent of the total number of women in the city and 80 per cent of the women in the countryside participated in elections to the Soviets. Women fill high Government posts. Over 30 per cent of the deputies elected to the Soviets are women. In the last elections to the highest executive body of the Soviet State—the All-Union Central Executive Committee—over 100 women were elected.

Woman in the U.S.S.R. is an active builder of Socialism. Women constitute over one-third of the total number of people employed in industry and over 40 per cent of those employed in large-scale industry. The number of women employed in large-scale industry has increased fourfold as compared with the number in pre-war years.

This increase in the number of women workers in industry has taken place everywhere, including those national republics, where before the Revolution woman did not even have the right to appear in public and where she could walk on the street only if veiled by the *parandja*. In 1936, native women already constituted over 37 per cent of those employed in the large-scale industries of the Tatar Republic, and 26 per cent in the Chuvash Republic.

Vast numbers of women in the U.S.S.R. are highly skilled workers performing the same work as the men and receiving equal pay for it.

In the universities no less than half the number of students are women and they constitute the overwhelming majority in pedagogical, medical and a number of other institutes. There is no sphere of labour in which Soviet woman cannot occupy a place of honour. In the U.S.S.R. female labour is prohibited only when the work entails lifting heavy loads or where the labour conditions violate some other law on the protection of female labour. Experience in the U.S.S.R. has proved the utter falsity of the bourgeois theories about the inferiority of female labour. The rate of increase in skilled female labour in industry is shown by the following figures:

Within the last ten years, since 1927, the number of women fitters increased from 1 per cent of the total number of fitters

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to 20 per cent. the number of women milling machine operators increased 350 per cent, the number of women operating drilling machines increased 650 per cent, etc. The increase in the number of women in professions is also great. For example, only 10 per cent of the physicians were women before the Revolution; at the present time 50 per cent of the total number of physicians and surgeons are women. The number of women engineers in the machine building industry increased more than fourfold from 1925 to 1934. It is quite common for women in the U.S.S.R. to be directors of factories, chairmen of collective farms, heads of scientific research institutes, etc.

In the collective farm village also, woman has become economically independent. She receives her own earnings and no longer has to listen to reproaches from her husband or from her father to the effect that they are obliged to feed her, as was the case before the Revolution, even though she worked like a slave at that time. The collective farm system has freed the peasant woman from economic dependence on her family and has transformed her labour into socially useful work.

Women take an active part in all spheres of the public life of the country—in the trade unions, the International Red Aid, the "Red Cross," the "Osoaviakhim" (Society for the Promotion of Aviation and Chemistry), the co-operative organizations, etc.

Women constitute a great force in the Soviet trade unions. The large majority of the employed women are members of unions.

In 1936 there were altogether 8,492,000 woman workers and other employees engaged in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. Fifty-four per cent of the total number of people employed in the caoutchouc and rubber industry are women. In the cotton industry in 1937, 63 per cent are women; of the 375,400 women employed, 346,600 are members of the union.

Division of occupation	Total No. of women em- ployed (in thousands)		Percentage of women to total No. of workers		Women mem- bers of trade unions (in thousands)	
	1936	1937	1936	1937	1936	1937
Caoutchouc and rubber	50.3	58.2	53.8	53.3	46.4	50.7
Cotton	345.7	375.4	63.0	62.9	326.5	346.6
Knit goods	87.0	97.4	75.1	76.8	82.0	90.6
Silk	44.4	46.1	69.6	67.2	33.1	39.7
Housing	185.0	210.0	59.7	61.9	127.9	143.6
Education	943.8	1058.0	55.9	56.6	927.7	1037.1
Needle trades	199.6	215.5	75.0	76.0	189.4	202.7

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The figures in the preceding table show an increase not only in the number of women employed in various branches of the national economy, but also in the number of women members of the trade unions (we give statistics for only eight branches of our national economy, in order not to burden the reader).

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN THE UNIONS

(INCLUDING STUDENTS)—1935 TO 1937

Percentage as compared to 1935 (1935 = 100)

	1936	1937
All unions	107.0	118.5
Including:		
Caoutchouc and rubber industry	105.7	115.5
Cotton textile industry	99.5	105.6
Knit goods	105.5	116.6
Silk	122.9	128.1
Needle trades	102.5	109.7
Housing	103.0	115.7
Education	106.8	119.3
Public health	116.4	132.1

Women in the trade union organizations are not merely rank-and-file members but occupy important posts and discharge their duties with honour. They have been and are being elected to the A.U.C.C.T.U., the Central Committees of the trade unions, to regional committees, to the factory and shop committees, and as trade union shop committee organizers. Everywhere, in all spheres of trade union work and among the trade union activists, women occupy important and responsible posts. The ranks of the women holding responsible posts in the trade unions grow from year to year. According to incomplete statistical data for 1936, 21 per cent of the members of the central committees of the unions were women; women constituted 18 per cent (elected and appointed) of the people occupying responsible posts in the A.U.C.C.T.U.; 20 per cent in the central committees of the unions, and 18.5 per cent in the regional committees. Approximately 20 per cent of the members of regional committees at that time were women.

Among the elected trade union officials in the local organizations the number of women is much larger. Thus, in 1935, 24.5 per cent of the members of trade union committees in factories were women, and in 1936—27.3 per cent; in 1935, 15 per cent of the members of trade union shop committees and of the shop committee organizers were women; in 1936—18 per cent; 26.1

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per cent of the group organizers in 1935 were women and 30 per cent in 1936.

In those trade unions where women predominate in the particular trade, mostly women are elected to trade union posts. In the knit goods industry, for example, over 63 per cent of the members of factory committees are women, in the sanitary and medical workers' unions of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic 69 per cent of the members of trade union local committees are women.

Women who are not employed also take part in the social life of the country. They are active in workers' and Red Army-men's clubs, in public dining halls, children's establishments, and so forth. The great activity displayed by the engineers' wives and the wives of Red Army commanders in the fields of cultural and social work among the workers is indicative of the cultural growth of the Soviet women.

From an oppressed "domestic slave," Soviet woman has become an active, conscious builder of Socialism. Thus, 1,305 women in the U.S.S.R. have been awarded orders by the Government for their excellent work. Comrade Stalin said about the women of the Soviet Union: "Such women did not exist and could not exist in the old days." (*Pravda*, Nov. 1, 1935.)

Such enormous improvements in the conditions of the women and such great cultural development are possible only in the land of Socialism, where particular solicitude is displayed towards women by the Government, the Communist Party and the trade union organizations.

Soviet legislation on labour protection, maternity benefits and social insurance is the most advanced labour legislation in the world. Soviet law provides that expectant mothers must be released from night work and from business trips, and where necessary must be transferred to some easier category of work with absolutely no reduction in wages. The working woman receives 56 working days' vacation before and 56 days after confinement with full pay from the social insurance funds. In 1936 the differences that existed between workers and office employees in the length of time off given to expectant mothers was abolished and in 1937 the difference in pay was abolished.

The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions is extending its present network of rest homes for expectant mothers, where the latter have the opportunity of resting and receiving the special

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care of competent physicians. At many of the enterprises the trade union committees organized dietetic restaurants for expectant and nursing mothers. The nursing mother is allowed thirty minutes off every three hours at the expense of the administration for feeding her baby. Many factories provide comfortable rooms for this purpose, where the mother also gets a free and wholesome lunch. When a baby is born one of the parents receives the sum of 45 rubles for baby clothes from the trade union committee, and a special allowance for a period of nine months for the feeding of the infant. All the large enterprises establish nurseries and kindergartens for children of pre-school age on their grounds, which assist the working women in raising a healthy and happy generation. Smaller enterprises are served by district nurseries and kindergartens. The mother can be quite at ease about her child while she is working, for she knows that the child is in good surroundings where it receives wholesome and nutritious food and the care of competent teachers and physicians. Since most of the nurseries in the U.S.S.R. are open 12-13 hours a day, after work the mother can go to school, to the cinema, to the theatre, to the club or do social work. The trade union organizations provide special rooms in the clubs for children, supervised by experienced teachers.

In the summertime the children's organizations go out of the city to the countryside and the children are left completely in their charge.

The trade union committees of the factories and institutions supervise the work of the nurseries and kindergartens and are in charge of sending the children to them.

On June 28, 1936, upon request of the women, the Government issued a decree prohibiting abortions. Before the decree was passed the draft had been universally discussed and approved by the population. The decree also provides measures for constantly improving the conditions of mother and child and for strengthening family ties. It provides for the construction of numerous maternity homes in town and village, day nurseries, kindergartens, dairy kitchens and for financial assistance to mothers of large families.

The solicitude manifested by Socialist society for mother and child has shown remarkable results in decreasing the sick rate among women, particularly with regard to women's diseases.

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Within five years, from 1930 to 1935, temporary disability due to women's diseases among women workers in the machine building industry decreased 59 per cent, in the coal mining industry 37 per cent, etc. Infant mortality has dropped to one-half and in some places even to one-third of the rate in tsarist Russia. The birth rate in the U.S.S.R. is increasing rapidly, simultaneously with a sharp drop in the death rate, and particularly in the death rate among infants below one year. Hence there is an enormous natural increase in the population of the U.S.S.R., the like of which is unknown in any of the capitalist countries.

NATURAL GROWTH OF THE POPULATION (TO EVERY 1,000 PERSONS) IN THE CAPITALS OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (IN 1935) AND IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (IN 1934)

Moscow	5.7	Vienna	6.1
Kiev	9.1	Budapest	0.1
Tashkent	9.1	Paris	0.1
Baku	11.2	Stockholm	0.1
Minsk	16.2	Berlin	1.1
Yerevan	20.5	London	2.5
		Warsaw	2.6

In Moscow, for example, in February 1937 the birth rate was double the rate of February 1936.

The Soviet woman is the happiest woman in the world. Her rights are ensured her in Article 122 of the Stalin Constitution, which declares:

"Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

"The possibility of exercising these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, maternity leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens."

XI. YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

Young people play a very important part in the trade unions. Together with the entire working class, the young people received the eight-hour working day, and subsequently the seven-hour day. Juveniles work from four to six hours a day.

The foremost young people of the Soviet Union are organized in the Young Communist League. This organization maintains close contact with the Soviet trade unions. Both the Y.C.L. and the trade unions have the task of educating the youth, training them to become highly-skilled workers and active and conscious builders of Communist society. The Y.C.L. and the trade unions are both interested in drawing the Soviet youth into the work of administering the State.

The young people of the Soviet Union have their own representatives in the Central Committees of the unions, who concern themselves with the labour conditions of young people, with their vocational training, with catering to their cultural and everyday requirements, and who draw them into public activities and responsible posts in the trade unions. The trade unions assist the Y.C.L. organizations in all spheres of their activity.

The role of the Soviet youth in Socialist construction may be seen from the following data: On July 1, 1935, 34 per cent of the total number of workers in the various branches of the national economy were under 23 years of age. There are over seven million young people working in the Land of the Soviets and this number is constantly becoming larger. In industry alone there were 3,140,000 young workers in 1935. Over 700,000 young people worked on the railways, and about the same number on various construction jobs.

The Soviet youth conscientiously and loyally helped to create those giants of which the U.S.S.R. is justly proud: the Ural Machine Building Plant, the Kuznetsk Works, the Stalingrad and Chelyabinsk Tractor Plants, the Moscow subway, the finest in the world, for the construction of which the Government duly awarded the Soviet youth.

The young people of the U.S.S.R., who have been steeled in

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the struggle for establishing Socialist society, do not flinch in the face of difficulties and extend their activities to the most remote corners of the Soviet Union. In the years 1931 to 1936, the Central Committee of the Y.C.I., actively assisted by the trade unions, sent 200,000 young workers to the most important construction jobs in the country. Thousands of young people went to Eastern Siberia to work in the gold industry; 3,200 young workers left for construction sites in the Far East Territory, 2,000 going to Sakhalin; 4,500 young enthusiasts left for the Arctic, with the aim of exploiting its natural resources; 36,000 young workers have been sent to the Donbas mines and various important construction sites during this period. Thousands of young women have gone to the Far East. Hundreds of thousands and millions of young Soviet people are building a new and joyous life for themselves.

The following data clearly show how great is the proportion of young people in the largest enterprises and industries.

<i>Enterprise or Industry</i>	<i>Percentage of young workers up to 23 years of age to total number of workers</i>
Stalin Works in Moscow	50
Kaganovich Ball-Bearing Plant	52
Stalinogorsk enterprises	65
Kuznetsk Works	45
Coal industry	40
Metallurgical industry	36
Machine building industry	36
Tractor building industry	47
Chemical industry	35
Agricultural machine building industry	40

Of these young workers 880,000 are girls.

A characteristic feature of Soviet young people is the fact that they make constant efforts to rise to higher categories of work. The number of young workers in the key trades and industries is steadily growing. In the electro-technical industry 47 per cent of the fitters and 49 per cent of the turners are young workers up to the age of 23; in the automobile and tractor industry 42 per cent of the foundrymen, 49.5 per cent of the fitters, 54.5 per cent of the turners, 54.4 per cent of the milling machine operators; in the transport machine building industry, 50 per cent of the turners, 47 per cent of the milling machine operators, and 62 per cent of the markers. This is the case in other branches of industry as well.

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During the five years from 1931 to 1936 the factory-apprenticeship schools taught 1,380,000 workers a trade.

The young people of the Soviet Union enjoy the love and confidence of all the working people. In 1934, 35,808 members of the City Soviets and 12,286 members of the District Executive Committees were young people from 18 to 25 years of age.

In the Land of the Soviets the young people have equal rights not only at work, but also in administering the State; on reaching the age of 18 they not only have the right to vote, but also the right to be elected.

The new electoral law, passed by the Fourth Session of the Seventh Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. (in 1937), gives young people over the age of 18 the opportunity of being elected to the Supreme Soviet if they show by their abilities and labours for the benefit of society that they merit this honour. In the forthcoming elections to the Soviets the youth will undoubtedly put forward many of their best representatives, heroes of labour, who have proved their loyalty to their fatherland.

The Soviet trade unions pay particular attention to the wages of young workers and the protection of their health. Soviet labour legislation sets strict limits with regard to working hours and wage rates for the various categories of workers, depending on the nature and the conditions of their work. All the rights granted to adult workers in the labour agreement apply equally to minors (up to 18 years of age). The working day of minors (from 16 to 18 years of age) may not exceed six hours, while boys and girls from the ages of 14 to 16 are not permitted to work more than four hours. It is only in exceptional cases that children below the age of 16 are permitted to work, and then only with the special permission of the A.U.C.C.T.U. Children below the age of 14 are not allowed to work.

Although minors work only a short, four to six-hour day, they receive pay as for a regular full day. If time rates are in force, the amount of work expected from the minor is fixed according to the standard set for the adult worker, in proportion however to the number of hours he works.

Minors from 16 to 18 years of age who are allowed to do piece work are paid the same rates for work performed as the adult piece workers, getting paid also for an additional two hours according to their wage coefficient.

Soviet law forbids all persons under 18 years of age to work

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overtime or on especially heavy or hazardous work, underground, etc.

Young workers and other employees below the age of 18 are given an annual vacation of not less than 24 working days by Soviet labour laws.

In 1935 alone the trade unions sent 345,700 young people up to the age of 23 to rest homes and sanatoriums.

This is how the Land of the Soviets displays its solicitude for the younger generation of Socialist society. The wages of young people in the Soviet Union are steadily increasing from year to year. From January 1931 to December 1935 their wages increased by 340 per cent. The following data are indicative of the rise in wages.

<i>Wages (in rubles)</i>	<i>Percentage of the total number of young workers January 1931</i>	<i>December 1935</i>
Up to 49	30.2	0.1
From 50 to 99	39.7	1.2
From 100 to 149	16.6	0.3
From 150 to 199	9.0	19.4
From 200 to 249	2.7	21.6
From 250 to 299	1.2	15.6
300 and over	0.6	32.8

These figures reveal how radically the situation has changed. Whereas in 1931, 30.2 per cent of the total number of young workers earned up to 49 rubles a month, in 1935, 32.8 per cent earned 300 rubles and over. In the last year and a half wages have continued to rise.

The wages of minors studying in factory schools have also grown considerably.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Monthly Wage</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Monthly Wage</i>
1931	33 rubles	1935	71 rubles
1932	40 "	1936	76 "
1933	44 "	1937	81 "
1934	53 "		

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has radically changed the conditions of young people. The doors of all schools and universities are open to them. During the First Five-Year Plan period alone, 310,000 specialists were trained from among the youth, including 35,000 engineers, 83,000 technical workers and 59,000 agronomists. Of the 522,400 students in the universities and higher technical schools in October 1935, 10.4 per cent were under 18 years

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of age, 58.1 per cent from 18 to 22 years of age. Of the 705,200 pupils in the technicums (secondary technical schools), 70.5 per cent were under 18 and 24.4 per cent were from 18 to 22 years of age.

It is noteworthy that the number of young students from the nationalities formerly oppressed by the tsarist government is growing every year. If we take the number of students to every 10,000 of the population according to nationality, we see the following:

Nationality	Number of students to every 10,000 of the population	
	1931	1935 (October)
Russians	16.8	28.7
Byelorussians	13.6	26.2
Tatars	7.5	18.1
Volga Germans	12.5	24.4
Chuvash	8.3	17.4
Tyurks	19.5	30.2
Armenians	36.6	58.4
Georgians	60.1	81.5

These figures show that the Soviet power has given formerly oppressed nationalities the opportunity of developing and growing culturally. Soviet culture means stimulating a thirst for knowledge among the toiling youth, helping them to acquire an education and developing their mental and physical faculties. Soviet culture means arousing in the working people the firm determination to build a society in which there are no oppressors or oppressed, no exploiters or exploited. For this reason a huge network of cultural institutions, including theatres, cinema houses, museums, clubs and libraries have been established in the Soviet Union. The Soviet young people, raised in Soviet conditions, hate exploiters and oppressors, hate all enemies of the working people.

In addition to those attending universities, and higher and secondary technical schools, over 340,000 minors are studying in the factory schools of large-scale industry alone. In a year or two this fresh army of buoyant, cheerful young people will take their place as an integral part of the great family of active builders of Communist society.

Such labour conditions have been created for the working youth in the Soviet Union as enable them to study and to constantly increase their skill. By January 1936, 71 per cent of the young workers in the machine building industry had received a technical train-

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ing, 61 per cent of them having received this training while continuing to work, and had passed the State examinations. Socialist industry is allocating vast sums for the training of young workers and opening well-equipped technical consulting rooms and laboratories. In the iron and steel industry 50 per cent of the young workers have received a technical training, 42 per cent having passed their State technical examinations; in the coal industry—57 per cent and 51 per cent.

In 1936 the number studying at various schools while continuing to work was distributed as follows:

Percentage of total number of young people studying and working

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Higher and Secondary Tech- nical Schools</i>	<i>Workers' Faculties and General Education Courses</i>	<i>Study Circles and Tech- nical Courses</i>
Machine building . . .	5	16	9
Metallurgical . . .	5	15	14
Coal mining . . .	3	14	10

This is how the Soviet young people are increasing their skill.

The following figures show the educational level of Soviet young people: In the machine building industry, 39.2 per cent of the total number of young workers received an elementary education; 43.5 per cent received an incomplete secondary education; 0.4 per cent are still illiterate. In the iron and steel industry, accordingly: 40.4 per cent, 34.5 per cent and 1.3 per cent; in the coal industry—45.6 per cent, 24.5 per cent and 1.2 per cent. Among the young workers employed in the transport machine building industry 23.3 per cent graduated seven-year schools; in the automobile and tractor industry—28.5 per cent; in the electro-technical industry—35.4 per cent.

As the Soviet young workers become more skilled they take their place in high posts in the key industries. They study persistently, read a great deal, attain the heights of technique and culture. And it is not surprising that scores and hundreds of our Soviet young men and women have become heroes of labour, of science and technique, establishing world records on land and in the air. The Soviet young people, trained and educated by the trade unions and the Y.C.L., participate in all spheres of State activity. Enjoying the full confidence of the electors, the young people do

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their share in administering the State. The Soviet youth is the first young generation in the world that knows no oppression, no inequality. Therefore the Soviet youth has faith in itself, is confident of the future, and it is quite natural that they are a joyous generation, that they love dancing and singing and all kinds of sports.

Together with the entire working class, the Soviet young people have won a bright and happy life for themselves. The young Soviet people are supremely devoted to their Socialist land. Vigilantly and valiantly they guard the frontiers of the Soviet Union—the fatherland of the proletariat of the whole world. And if the enemies of Socialism should attempt to attack the Soviet Union, these young Soviet patriots will be in the front ranks of the defenders of their glorious Socialist country.

XII. THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In order to understand the relationship between the Communist Party and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. it is necessary first to know about the conditions in which the trade unions arose and existed.

In the capitalist countries, as a rule, trade unions sprang up before the appearance of the political organizations of the working class. Thus, for example, the trade unions in England arose long before the Labour Party made its appearance, and as a matter of fact the latter was organized by the trade unions.

There were no trade unions in Russia prior to the Revolution of 1905, since the working class had had no rights whatever, the tsarist government nipping in the bud any attempts of the proletariat to create its own mass organizations.

The vanguard of the proletariat—the Bolshevik Party—was formed in the beginning of the twentieth century; however, in the early years of its existence it was not a mass organization, for it had to work illegally, with its leading bodies functioning abroad.

From the very outset the Bolshevik Party, uniting the most class-conscious revolutionary workers, fought against the Mensheviks for leadership not only of the political struggle of the proletariat, but also of its economic struggle. Strikes, demonstrations and other actions of the workers against the oppressors were carried out under the leadership of the Party.

At the beginning of the 1905 Revolution, trade unions began to spring up on the initiative of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; they were organized in the very heat of the revolutionary struggle against the autocracy, and therefore from the very beginning the trade unions were militant, revolutionary organizations carrying on a struggle not only against the capitalists, but also against the whole tsarist regime.

In the early days of their existence the trade unions united an inconsiderable number of workers; they had as yet no experience in leading the economic struggle of the working class. The Bolsheviks, fighting the Mensheviks for leadership of the

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trade unions, gave their experience in the struggle to the trade unions, strengthening them organizationally and steeling them in the difficult conditions of the autocracy. In this struggle two different policies, two different outlooks—reformism and revolutionary Marxism—came into conflict. The struggle centred around the question of whether to become adapted to the autocracy or whether to utilize the concessions wrested from it for overthrowing the rule of the tsar and the landowners; of whether the trade unions should remain neutral with regard to the political struggle of the working class, concerning themselves only with wage issues and labour conditions, etc., or whether, in addition to this, they should prepare the masses jointly with the Party for the overthrow of tsarism; of whether the trade unions should collaborate with the capitalists and settle all conflicts between labour and capital only by peaceful means, or whether, as militant organizations of the working class, they should always prepare their members and the masses of workers for strikes in order to achieve the satisfaction of their demands by means of direct mass action. Whereas the Mensheviks regarded reforms as an aim in itself, the Bolsheviks, in the words of Lenin, said: reforms are but a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle.

After the defeat of the first revolution, when the Mensheviks, nominally belonging to the same party as the Bolsheviks, urged the liquidation of the illegal party and submission of the trade unions to the tsarist laws, the Bolsheviks were in favour of strengthening the illegal organization, for the utilization of all legal possibilities and for preparing the masses to overthrow the autocracy and the power of capitalism.

Even in those dark days of reaction the trade unions followed the lead of the Bolshevik Party, for in face of the general collapse and despondency among the wavering petty-bourgeois elements, the Bolshevik Party alone stood firm and did not become disheartened at the temporary defeat, but untiringly called on the masses to prepare for new battles.

After the defeat of the revolution the tsarist government did not dissolve the trade unions, it merely issued a decree according to which they were allowed to exist, but could not engage in struggle. The Mensheviks urged the workers to reconcile themselves to these conditions, but the trade unions were not content to remain organizations that could bring nothing to the working class, and

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under the leadership of the Bolsheviks they carried on their revolutionary work under illegal conditions.

Thus we see that the trade unions were formed and carried on a revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, without whom they would have been transformed into a mere appendage of the bourgeois parties and would at most have been able merely to carry on negotiations for miserly concessions from the capitalists. It was only due to the Bolshevik Party that the trade unions became militant revolutionary organizations, carrying on an uncompromising fight against the exploiters until their complete overthrow.

The proletariat of Russia regarded its party as the sole organization with whose aid it would not only overthrow tsarism, but bring about the victorious Socialist Revolution. And the year 1917 fully confirmed this. After the victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries tried to seize the trade unions, to use them to divorce the proletariat from the Bolshevik Party and subordinate it to the influence of the bourgeoisie.

In the first few months after the February Revolution the Mensheviks controlled most of the trade unions, just as they controlled the Soviets. But the Revolution could not stop at its bourgeois-democratic stage, as the Mensheviks desired. The working class and peasantry did not make the revolution for the sake of letting the war continue indefinitely, for the sake of leaving the factories in the hands of the manufacturers, the land in the hands of the landlords and power in the hands of the coalition government composed of capitalists, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Mensheviks pursued the policy of Kerensky and Milyukov in the trade unions (war to a victorious conclusion, no workers' control over production, no strikes, no expropriation of land, etc.), and it was only natural for their influence to decline rapidly.

Thanks to the consistent and correct revolutionary policy of the Bolsheviks and their persistent explanatory work among the masses, the latter soon saw who was leading them along the correct path and recognized the Bolshevik Party as the only leading force.

In the great historic days of the October Revolution and in the years of the Civil War the trade unions fought against the whiteguards and interventionists shoulder to shoulder with the Bolshevik Party.

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Responding to the call of the Communist Party, the trade unions sent their best forces to the Civil War front, organized detachments for procuring food for the Red Army and the industrial centres, carried on a fight against sabotage and counter-revolution, organized work in industry, mobilized the forces of the working class to overcome the disintegration and restore the undermined national economy of the country.

With the victory of the Socialist Revolution, a series of new tasks confronted the trade unions.

In March 1920 the Ninth Congress of the Bolshevik Party said the following about the tasks of the trade unions:

"Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the trade unions are transformed from organs of struggle of the sellers of labour power against the capitalist class into an apparatus of the ruling class. The tasks of the trade unions lie mainly in the spheres of organization, economics and education. . . .

"Being a school of Communism as well as the connecting link between the most backward masses of the proletariat, which have not yet freed themselves entirely from the influence of the old narrow craft and professional mentality, and its vanguard—the Communist Party—the trade unions must educate, organize these masses culturally, politically, administratively, must raise them to the level of Communism, prepare them for the role of builders of the Communist system, which is being created by the Soviet State as the historically evolved form of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The tasks charged to the trade unions are not carried out by them at random, but in an organized way, under the leadership of the Communists active in the trade union movement. The millions of working people consciously and voluntarily recognize the leadership of the Communist Party, for the Party is the only political force that consolidated the ranks of the working class and poor peasantry for the struggle for the Socialist Revolution and secured the victory of Socialism in our country. Hence, the Party, as the organizer, inspirer and leader of the emancipation of the overwhelming majority of the country's population from class, national, religious and all other oppression, justly enjoys the confidence and love of the working people, that is why its authority is so great among them. The Communist Party is the only party in the land, because the very conditions for the existence of other parties in the U.S.S.R. have been abolished since the exploiting classes have been abolished.

The trade unions are non-Party, voluntary organizations of workers and other employees. Any person employed in a State,

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co-operative or other enterprise or institution, irrespective of political or religious conviction, sex or age, may be a member of a trade union.

How, then, does the Party exercise its leadership in the trade unions?

It does so through the medium of the Communists working in the trade union bodies. Party members in trade union committees of factories and institutions, in presidiums of regional, territorial, republican and central committees of the trade unions, in the A.U.C.C.T.U., constitute Party groups that are subordinate to the respective Party organizations. Thus, for example, the Party group in the factory trade union committee is subordinate to the factory Party committee.

The task of the Party groups is to explain the policy of the Party to the non-Party workers and convince them to accept it. However, they do so not by forcing their proposals on the non-Party workers, but by explaining and proving to these workers that their proposal is the only correct one, that it is for the good of both the given collective and society as a whole. Another task of the Party groups is to fight against all manifestations of bureaucracy, and all violations of the directives of the Party and Government, for the strengthening of trade union discipline and against all infringements of trade union democracy. One of the major tasks of the Party organizations in the trade unions is the Communist education of the trade union masses, the raising of their ideological and political level. In the trade unions the Party organizations pay special attention to the cultural and political education of those workers who have just come into industry from the countryside, and also to categories like building and peatworkers, lumbermen, raftsmen and others connected with work in the countryside.

The trade unions advance the best and most active workers from their midst to various trade union posts—from dues collectors and trade union group organizers to leaders of entire trade union organizations. The trade unions educate and train some of the best production workers, shock workers, Stakhanovites—enthusiasts of Socialist labour. And it is these workers—the best and most advanced people in the trade unions—that the Party recruits into its own ranks.

The trade union is a voluntary and democratic organization and therefore the Soviet trade union movement adheres to the prin-

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ciple of electing its officials, hearing regular reports from them and holding them subject to recall. How is it possible then that trade union democracy is combined with the leading role of the Party? Because the Communist Party as a whole and every Communist trade union official in particular defends trade union democracy. There have been many instances when the Communist Party severely criticized trade union officials and leaders who were becoming bureaucratic, when the Communist Party demanded that the trade union officials call meetings regularly to report to the membership on their work, etc. Of the 22,000,000 members of the trade unions only about 2,000,000 are members of the Party, *i.e.*, less than 10 per cent. How is it, then, that this 10 per cent plays a leading role? Because by their work the Communists have shown and show that they are true sons of their class. Communists are elected because the working masses have faith in the Party, have faith in its policy, have faith in its leaders. In the overwhelming majority of countries the trade unions are headed by Social-Democrats and Labourites (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Japan, England, etc.). What policy do the Labourites and Social-Democrats pursue in the trade unions? Of course the same policy as is pursued by their respective parties. And it is quite natural for the Communists heading the Soviet trade unions to pursue the policy of their Bolshevik Party.

The Party, the trade unions and the Soviet State devote a great deal of attention and allocate vast sums to the training of cadres, for the purpose of ensuring the fulfilment of the tasks of Socialist construction. The leading personnel in industrial enterprises, in economic, scientific and other institutions, are not only specialists in the sphere of the work they perform, but they also have a good knowledge of the politics and economics of our country, of Party and Government policy, of the reorganization of the State on the basis of the new Constitution, and also of questions pertaining to the international situation of the Soviet State in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

The enemies of the Party and the Soviet State have time and again tried to gain control over the trade unions and to convert them into a base for their struggle against Socialist construction and for the restoration of capitalism.

Among the leadership of the trade unions, there have been men, headed by Tomsky, who proved to be inveterate enemies of the people. The leaders of this Right group—Bukharin, Tomsky and

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Rykov—opposed the industrialization of the U.S.S.R., the collectivization of agriculture, the offensive against the capitalist elements, the abolition of the kulaks as a class. They wanted to convert the U.S.S.R. into an appendage of the capitalist countries; they wanted to disrupt the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry. Their whole policy was directed towards furthering the growth of the capitalist elements in the country, towards dissolving the Soviet State and restoring the rule of the exploiters.

The Right restorationists endeavoured to find support among the trade union masses, but their efforts met with utter defeat.

Expressing the will of all the members of the trade unions, the Eighth Congress of Trade Unions, in its resolution on the report of the A.U.C.C.T.U., declared:

"The working class, organized in trade unions, is firmly convinced that only the policy which is pursued by the C.P.S.U. will ensure the victory of Socialism for the proletariat. The trade unions will determinedly support the C.P.S.U. in the struggle against all deviations from the correct Leninist line, against all vacillations in carrying out this policy; the Congress particularly emphasizes the urgent necessity at the present moment to wage a struggle against vacillation in the carrying out of the policy of a rapid rate of industrialization and an intensified offensive against the kulak, and of intensifying the Socialist reconstruction of the village.

"The trade union movement of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the Leninist Party, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., will undeviatingly continue along this path, and, as a mass organization, will lead the many-million strong working class in its wake and secure its all-round and determined support of all the measures, of all the work of the Soviet power."

The slanders of the Rights, who claim that the Party adopted dictatorial methods with regard to the trade unions, were refuted by the trade union membership, because they saw that the Party organizations were carrying out the directives of the Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. on this question:

"The Congress reminds all Party organizations of the fact that the trade unions are broad organizations of the non-Party working masses, that work within them can be successful only if conducted on the basis of methods of conviction, comradely discipline, the development of the initiative of the membership in all spheres of trade union work. Sound workers' democracy must be realized to the fullest extent in the trade unions. Dictatorial methods and petty guardianship are least of all permissible with regard to the trade unions."

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., in guiding the trade unions through the Communist trade union members, frequently

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adopts very important decisions on questions of trade union work with a view to directing the work of the trade unions towards the accomplishment of the tasks charged to them by Socialist construction. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party watches closely that the Party organizations of the trade unions—the Communists in the trade unions—carry out the decisions adopted by the trade unions and Party congresses. The trade unions, which solve all trade union questions independently, carry on their work on the principle of the broadest democracy. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and the Party as a whole, help the trade unions to overcome all obstacles in the way of the complete realization of this most important principle of trade union work.

In 1935 the leaders of the Party and Comrade Stalin personally called the attention of the leading officials of the trade unions to a number of defects in their work, the most serious of which were: violation of trade union democracy and isolation from the masses.

In its resolutions the Sixth Plenum of the A.U.C.C.T.U., held in April-May 1937, also noted a number of serious defects in the work of the trade unions. The Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrades Andreyev and L. M. Kaganovich (Comrade Kaganovich is a member of the Plenum of the A.U.C.C.T.U.), taking a most active part in the work of the Plenum, did a great deal to disclose the shortcomings in the work of the trade unions and to point out ways and means for eliminating these shortcomings.

The Communist Party fights for the trade unions to be effective organizations of the working people of the Land of the Soviets, for the trade unions, in leading the workers, office employees, scientific workers and engineering and technical staffs, to ensure the fulfilment of the tasks confronting the working class of the U.S.S.R. in the building of Socialist society.

In no other country in the world do the trade unions enjoy such rights and nowhere are they obliged to cope with such tasks as in the U.S.S.R. The trade unions of a ruling working class have tasks other than the trade unions of an oppressed and exploited working class. The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. are proud of the fact that they are led by such a militant party as the C.P.S.U., and they do everything in their power to educate their members and the entire working class in the spirit of the triumphant teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

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The Soviet State arose as a result of the victory of the October Socialist Revolution of 1917, in which the trade unions took active part. Hence, the trade unions helped to establish the Soviet State, which in its turn did everything possible later on for the development of the trade unions.

The U.S.S.R. is called a Soviet State because its political foundation is the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies. Having overthrown the capitalist system, the proletariat could not use the old apparatus of State power, since that apparatus had been adapted to the interests of the landowners and capitalists. It was necessary to smash the old State machine and substitute for it a new organization; it was necessary to create a new, proletarian State power. And the Soviets are precisely this new form of State power.

The Soviets are mass organizations, uniting all formerly oppressed and exploited workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors and intellectual workers. Since they are organizations of the masses themselves, the Soviets are authoritative, democratic bodies that draw the broad masses into the work of building and administering the new State.

United in autonomous republics and union republics, the Soviets form one State organization. "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a Socialist State of workers and peasants."¹

In the Land of the Soviets all exploitation and all exploiting classes have been abolished. The Socialist order has definitely won. The activity of the Soviet State and of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., directed towards the planned and conscious building of Communist society, has borne fruit—Socialism has in the main already been built in this country.

The might of the Soviet State lies in its close connection with the masses. Drawing the mass organizations of the toilers into the work of ruling the State, the Soviet power strengthens the U.S.S.R. and creates the conditions for the withering away of the State—

¹ *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Article I.*

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since in the future, Communist society the State will wither away.

As a result of the victory of Socialism in the Land of the Soviets, after preliminary universal discussion the new Stalin Constitution was adopted in 1936 at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets.

The new Constitution changed the structure of the supreme Soviet bodies, introduced universal suffrage by secret ballot, established direct elections, and granted equal suffrage to all citizens of the U.S.S.R.

The adoption of the Stalin Constitution, which granted the peoples of the U.S.S.R. democratic liberties unprecedented in the whole world, was the result of the great historic victories won in our country in all spheres of Socialist construction.

The new Constitution secures the right to nominate candidates for the supreme Soviet bodies to the public organizations and societies of working people, *i.e.*, to the Communist Party, to the trade unions, to co-operatives, to the Young Communist League, to sports societies, scientific and technical societies, defence and other organizations.

What role, then, do the trade unions play in the U.S.S.R. and what is the relationship between them and the Soviet State?

The trade unions are not State organizations. The relationship between the trade unions and the Soviet State is established on the basis of the performance of those tasks that confront all the working people and all the organizations in the Soviet Union.

Under the Soviet system, with the increasing activity and cultural demands of the masses, the trade unions pay paramount attention to the most important task of satisfying the material requirements and cultural interests of the workers, of educating them to be developed and intelligent members of Socialist society.

The Soviet trade unions fight against bureaucratic distortions in the State and economic apparatus, and advance thousands and tens of thousands of the foremost proletarians from their own ranks as organizers of Socialist economy.

The trade unions closely link up their work of improving the living conditions of the workers with the tasks of production, explaining to the masses of workers that continued improvement in all branches of the national economy is the only path leading to still greater increases in the prosperity of the working class and of all the working people.

The trade unions take active part in developing Socialist indus-

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try, so that it will be able to satisfy fully the rapidly growing demands of the working population of the land.

The trade union organizations do all in their power to help complete and consolidate the collectivization of agriculture, which greatly improves the material condition and raises the cultural level of the many millions of peasants, at the same time making the U.S.S.R. a land of plenty.

It goes without saying that the Soviet trade unions are deeply concerned with strengthening the Land of the Soviets, the land of Socialism. During the Civil War the trade unions sent hundreds of thousands of their members to the front, organized food detachments to confiscate all surplus grain for the cities and the front, did all they could to ensure the army of supplies.

In the present conditions of peaceful construction, the trade unions rally their members around the task of helping the State to strengthen the defence capacity of the U.S.S.R.—the Socialist fatherland of the world proletariat—to defend it against all foreign enemies, to expose and uproot all enemies of the people within the country—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other spies, wreckers and diversionists.

The trade unions took and take active part in drawing up the State plans. Before they were finally adopted, the First and Second Five-Year Plans were thoroughly discussed by all the working people and by all the members of the trade unions. And at the present time the trade union papers are already raising a number of problems in connection with the working out of the Third Five-Year Plan. The plans of the factories and other economic enterprises are also discussed by the workers at trade union meetings before they are adopted. At these meetings the workers submit their proposals and amendments to the plans. All the valuable and practical proposals of the workers are accepted and put into effect. This serves as a vivid example of how the trade unions participate directly in managing the economy of the Soviet Union.

The production conferences are one of the striking forms of the participation of trade union members in the decisions taken on economic questions. Through the production conferences, the masses are drawn into the work of directing the practical building of the Soviet economy. Thus the trade unions train reserves of future administrators, business managers, etc.

The trade unions take part in drawing up labour legislation, and, defending the interests of the workers, they preclude the pos

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sibility of any bureaucratic distortions of the principles of labour legislation on the part of economic bodies or individuals. At the same time, the trade unions see to it that the interests of the State, *i.e.*, the interests of the whole workers' collective, are also safeguarded, fighting against wage-hogging tendencies among the more backward workers, for the strengthening of labour discipline, for a Communist attitude towards work, since the well-being of each and all depends upon this.

It would have been impossible to carry out the economic tasks successfully had the toilers of the U.S.S.R. not realized the importance of the work. Had they not realized that the path indicated by the Party and the Soviet Government was the only path which would lead the peoples of the U.S.S.R. to Communism.

Although the trade unions are not State bodies, nevertheless they are in charge of the following State functions: social insurance, labour protection and rank-and-file control of the enterprises. Until 1933 social insurance and labour protection had been administered by the People's Commissariat of Labour, which reported on its activity in these spheres at the trade union congresses but which was a State body. In addition to these functions the People's Commissariat of Labour regulated the labour market and distributed labour power. But with the growth of the national economy and the disappearance of unemployment, the economic organizations began to take on new workers themselves.

The social insurance budget grew correspondingly, the work of labour protection became more complex. The People's Commissariat of Labour, which was not so closely connected with production and the masses of workers as the trade unions were, could not cope with its tasks, and the trade unions themselves had to do much of the work.

In 1933 by decree of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars the functions of the People's Commissariat of Labour were transferred to the trade unions, which took over the entire work of administration in these very important fields.

The close collaboration between the Soviet State and the trade unions leads to the increased well-being of the working people in the U.S.S.R. This increased prosperity is the result of the development of the productive forces of the country. With every year the industry of the U.S.S.R. produces more articles of consumption

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More and more new dwelling houses, houses of culture, clubs, schools, hospitals, stadiums, etc., are being built.

The policy of the Party and the Government is directed towards securing a bright and happy life for all the working people of the Soviet Union.

And the trade unions work in this same direction: in the factories and shops they check up on the expenditure of State funds allocated for the construction of dwelling houses, clubs, schools, etc.

Socialist industry, transport and agriculture need more and more engineers, technical workers, agronomists, skilled workers, factory directors, heads of institutions, managers; more and more teachers, physicians and scientific workers are needed. The trade unions do a great deal in the matter of training all these forces

What exactly do they do?

The trade unions send their best shock workers, Stakhanovites, to study in universities; they organize schools and courses for increasing the skill of the workers in the enterprises and institutions, they participate directly in training skilled cadres by setting up factory-apprenticeship schools and courses, etc.

The trade unions also participate in the training of agricultural forces—combine operators, tractor drivers, workers in machine and tractor stations, agronomists, etc. Thus, in their educational work the trade unions devote major attention to the training of new forces.

Besides the funds allocated by the State in the form of stipends, the trade unions expend vast sums for improving the students' living conditions, for cultural and educational work among them, for school supplies, text-books, literature, etc.

The trade unions are schools for educating their members in the spirit of Communism, making them active, intelligent men and women, devoted to the cause of Socialism. The goal of the Soviet State, as we know, is to complete the building of Communism. This is also the fundamental task of the trade unions. This is why there is not and cannot be any class struggle between the Soviet trade unions and the Soviet State, this is why the collaboration between the trade unions and the Soviet power exists and continues to grow ever stronger. Can the trade unions in capitalist countries have the same aims as the State? The political line of a capitalist state is determined by the ruling class of the particular country. The ruling classes not only of Germany, Japan and Italy, but also of

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England, the U.S.A., France, Czechoslovakia, etc., are the bourgeoisie and the landlords. In the first named countries the rule of these classes is naked and open; in the others (the bourgeois-democratic countries) this rule is veiled, masked. Whereas the bourgeoisie is interested in increasing the exploitation of the workers and peasants, the latter are interested in precisely the opposite; whereas the bourgeoisie and the landlords make use of the entire state apparatus (the police, the courts, the schools, etc.) to imbue the masses with a spirit of docility and the worship of private property, being assisted in this by the church, the working class and its trade unions must fight against servile docility, must fight against the perpetuation of the system of exploitation of man by man. Whereas the capitalists and landlords cannot exist without exploitation, the working class can begin to develop and really live only after destroying all forms of exploitation and oppression. No matter in what sphere—be it the sphere of domestic policy or that of foreign policy (Spain, China, fascism, wages, customs duties, prices, schools, etc.)—the interests of the capitalist State and those of the working class are diametrically opposed. Hence the class struggle and the danger of a policy of class collaboration as far as the workers are concerned.

In the Soviet Union, where there are no landlords or capitalists, no bankers or other exploiters, the situation is entirely different. Against whom would the trade unions in the U.S.S.R. wage a struggle? Would they wage a struggle against the very state that has abolished the exploiters and defended the independence of the country against the encroachment of foreign interventionists? Of course not, for such action would be both senseless and criminal.

The Soviets and the trade unions have one and the same goal, but the functions of each of these organizations and their methods of work vary. Both the Soviets and the trade unions are organizations of the great masses of working people: the Soviets unite the entire population of the country, while the trade unions unite the workers, office employees, engineering, technical, scientific and intellectual workers.

XIV. THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT

1. The Soviet Trade Unions and the Struggle for International Trade Union Unity

From the very first days of their activity the Soviet trade unions devoted a great deal of attention to questions of the international trade union movement. This reflected the deep proletarian internationalism ensuing from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the aims and tasks of the trade unions.

At the First Trade Union Congress of Soviet Russia, in January 1918, *i.e.*, a year and a half prior to the formation of the post-war International Federation of Trade Unions (the so-called Amsterdam International), a decision was adopted on the necessity of founding an international federation of trade unions.

The Soviet trade unions could not carry out this decision of the Soviet trade union congress in the early years of the Revolution. The Civil War against internal counter-revolution and foreign interventionists took all the forces and held the entire attention of the Soviet proletariat. Soviet Russia was in a fiery ring of intervention and blockade and it was extremely difficult to establish contact with the trade unions of the capitalist world.

Moreover, conditions in the capitalist countries were also unfavourable for any such endeavours. The World War was still going on, the trade union movement was split along lines of the conflicting imperialist groupings, while the national trade union centres pursued a chauvinist policy, hampering the re-establishment of international trade union connections. The Left groups and trends in the various trade union organizations did not as yet represent a strong enough force to change this policy of the trade union leaders.

However, as soon as the young Soviet Republic succeeded in beating back the main attacks of the whiteguard counter-revolution and foreign interventionists, the Soviet trade unions began to establish friendly contact with the international trade union movement.

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Foreign workers' delegations, breaking through the barbed-wire of the blockade, soon began to come to Soviet Russia, desiring to see for themselves the victory of the proletarian Revolution. Among the members of these delegations were also representatives of trade unions that had been affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions and expelled from its ranks for their revolutionary views.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, in those days uniting approximately twenty million workers, was nevertheless unable to become the organization that would embody the aspirations of the trade union members of all countries for uniting their forces and carrying on the struggle on an international scale. It could achieve no unity even in its own ranks. The leaders of trade union centres affiliated to it expelled individual workers and even entire organizations for disagreeing with their reformist policy, not stopping even at splitting the trade union movement.

The Soviet trade unions from the very first days of the formation of the International Federation of Trade Unions criticized the policy of its leaders and demanded that the trade union international head the revolutionary struggle of the organized working masses against capital, for improving their conditions, for Socialism.

On this basis contact was established between the Soviet trade unions and the representatives of the trade union movement of a number of capitalist countries.

Time and again the Soviet trade unions proposed to the International Federation of Trade Unions, to the Trade Alliances and Secretariats and the trade union centres of individual countries to establish connections, to launch a joint struggle against the capitalist offensive on the working class.

In September 1920 a delegation of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions (A.R.C.C.T.U.), headed by Comrades Lozovsky and Artyom, went to Germany for the purpose of establishing friendly connections with the trade unions of Germany. At a meeting in Berlin organized by the General Workers' Union of Germany, Comrade Lozovsky greeted the German trade unions in the name of the A.R.C.C.T.U. In October of that year, on behalf of the Soviet trade unions, Comrade Lozovsky delivered two reports at the congress of representatives of the German factory committees: on international proletarian solidarity and on the factory and shop committees in Soviet Russia. Soon after, Comrade

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Lozovsky spoke at the congress of the German Independent Social-Democrats in Halle on the attitude of the Soviet trade unions towards the international trade union movement.

At the same time a delegation of the Soviet trade unions was supposed to participate in the trade union congresses in France, England and Italy, but could get no entrance visas from the bourgeois governments, and was obliged to confine itself to sending Open Letters to the workers of these countries.

Two years later the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions sent its delegation to the Hague Peace Congress, which was convened by the I.F.T.U. At this Congress the delegation of the A.U.C.C.T.U. proposed to set up a joint international committee of representatives of all workers' internationals, and similar committees in all countries, for carrying on a joint struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr and the war danger. The A.U.C.C.T.U. proposed that these committees also take upon themselves the initiative in restoring trade union unity on a national and international scale, taking steps to put an end to the split and to prevent new splits in the movement.

Under the pressure brought to bear by the leaders of the I.F.T.U., who took a negative attitude towards the Soviet trade union movement and did not desire any rapprochement whatever with it, the proposals of the A.U.C.C.T.U. were rejected by the Congress.

Nevertheless, the Soviet trade unions continued their endeavours to establish connections with the trade union movements of other countries. In February 1923 they participated in the work of the International Anti-War Conference in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, convened on the initiative of the factory committees of Westphalia.

In May 1923 an international transport workers' conference was held in Berlin, attended by representatives of the International Transport Workers' Federation and of the Soviet transport workers' unions. At this conference, called upon the insistence of the Soviet trade unions, the Soviet delegates proposed a concrete program of struggle against reaction and war. This program was adopted by the conference. Thus a beginning was made for a united front of the transport workers of all lands for a joint struggle against the capitalist offensive and the war menace.

But the agreement between the transport workers of the U.S.S.R. and of the capitalist countries was soon disrupted by the International Federation of Trade Unions, which instituted a

vicious campaign against it, declaring that inasmuch as this "separate agreement" had been adopted without its sanction, it was not binding on anyone.

The efforts made by other trade unions of the U.S.S.R. to establish connections with trade union organizations of other branches of industry in the capitalist countries met with the same fate. All their appeals to the respective Trade Secretariats of the International Federation of Trade Unions, proposing to establish a united front and trade union unity, were invariably rejected.

For over eight years the Metal Workers' Union of the U.S.S.R. endeavoured to join the International Metal Workers' Federation. But all its efforts were in vain: the leaders of the International, obeying the orders of the I.F.T.U., systematically, from year to year, on various pretexts, rejected the proposals of the Soviet metal workers.

From 1920 to 1926, five times the Building Trades Workers' Union of the U.S.S.R. requested the International Federation of Building Trades Workers to accept it in the ranks of the International, and every time received a negative reply.

The Miners' Union of the U.S.S.R. raised the question of its affiliation to the Miners' International Federation seven times from 1921 to 1924. Of the seven letters that the Soviet Miners' Union wrote, the Federation deigned to answer only once, writing that the question of accepting the Soviet trade union would be placed under consideration. But nothing further was heard from the Federation, and, in 1926, the Soviet trade union renewed its proposal—for the eighth time. This time it finally received an official refusal.

The Soviet chemical, municipal, food, leather, clothing and other workers' unions just as fruitlessly endeavoured to affiliate to the Trade Internationals with a view to effecting a rapprochement with the trade unions of other countries and realizing the militant unity of the international trade union movement. Of all these unions, only one was accepted—the Food Workers' Union. However, the leadership of the International Union of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades adopted an extremely hostile attitude towards the Soviet trade union and created around it an absolutely disgusting atmosphere of vilification and slander, striving to isolate it from the unions of the other countries. And in 1929, the leaders of the International Union, annoyed with the fact that the delegation of the Soviet trade union had criticized them for their reluctance to help the striking tobacco workers of Bul-

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garia, took advantage of the moment and expelled the Soviet Food Workers' Union, after its almost seven years of membership in the ranks of the International Union.

The year 1924 was marked by some headway in the struggle of the Soviet trade unions for a united front and trade union unity. At the Vienna Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1924, on the insistence primarily of the British delegation, which was then under the influence of the striving on the part of the working masses of England and other countries for unity, the question of a rapprochement with the Soviet trade unions was raised. The A.U.C.C.T.U. sent a telegram to the Congress, voicing its willingness to support the proposal of the British trade unions. But the Congress adopted a very equivocal decision, in which it stressed that "affiliation of the Russian trade unions to the international trade union movement" could be effected only "if they unreservedly abided by the Statutes and Rules of the International," and only "in so far as it is compatible with the dignity of the International Federation of Trade Unions." This equivocal formulation enabled the Bureau of the I.F.T.U. to drag out and delay negotiations with the A.U.C.C.T.U. and finally to break them off.

The futility of the negotiations with the I.F.T.U. impelled the A.U.C.C.T.U. to pay major attention to establishing a rapprochement with the British trade unions. Such a rapprochement was effected in 1924 under the influence of the strong will of the British proletariat to organize a united front of struggle against the capitalist offensive and the war danger.

In the autumn of 1924 a delegation of the A.U.C.C.T.U. was invited to attend the regular congress of the British Trade Unions in Hull. Soon after that the A.U.C.C.T.U. invited a delegation of the British trade unions to the Sixth Congress of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. As a result of these mutual visits and various negotiations, the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee (ARC) was set up (in April 1925), which aimed to strengthen the ties of friendship between the trade unions of both countries, and to fight with united forces for international trade union unity.

The Soviet trade unions readily joined the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, although they saw that the leaders of the General Council of the British trade unions had no intentions whatever of changing their policy and entering upon the road of decisive struggle against capitalism. But the ARC at that time could have marked a step forward on the road towards international trade union unity,

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towards strengthening the positions of the working class in all countries. That is why the A.U.C.C.T.U. did everything in its power to found the ARC and rouse the British representatives in the Committee for vigorous action for a united front and trade union unity.

But the practical activity of the ARC proved that the leaders of the British trade unions actually wanted no decisive action. At ARC meetings they agreed with the representatives of the A.U.C.C.T.U., voted for all their proposals for intensifying the struggle for trade union unity, but they refused to put them into effect.

At that time the miners' strike broke out in England, followed by the general strike of May 1926. The leaders of the General Trade Union Council were opposed to the general strike, but they were compelled to declare it under pressure of the English masses. The Soviet trade unions quickly responded to the action of the English workers. The A.U.C.C.T.U. immediately sent a telegram to the General Council, promising effective moral and material support. Collections for the strikers were organized among the Soviet workers. But the General Council refused to accept the fraternal aid offered by the workers of the U.S.S.R., declaring that its acceptance might be "misunderstood and misinterpreted."

The general strike was crushed. The British workers were defeated. The A.U.C.C.T.U. considered it its duty to make public its opinion of the behaviour of the British trade union leaders during the strike. This circumstance served as a convenient occasion for the General Trade Union Council and the leaders of the I.F.T.U. to launch a vicious campaign against the ARC.

In the U.S.S.R., the counter-revolutionary Trotsky, who subsequently became the faithful agent of Japanese and German fascism, and his adherents demanded the immediate dissolution of the ARC. By this means the Trotskyites aimed to disrupt the struggle of the Soviet trade unions for trade union unity.

With respect to the policy of the Rights, the Third Plenum of the A.U.C.C.T.U. in November 1929 declared that they (Tomsky and Co., subsequently exposed as enemies of the people) "acted as a brake on the revolutionization of the international trade union movement." By their capitulatory and renegade abandonment of principles, the Rights helped the opponents of unity in the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

The A.U.C.C.T.U. did not give in to any of these provocations. But despite all the efforts of the Soviet trade unions to preserve

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the Anglo-Russian Committee, it was exploded in 1936 by the leaders of the General Trade Union Council with the direct assistance of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

At the end of 1928 the A.U.C.C.T.U. made a fresh endeavour to establish connections with the trade union movement of the capitalist countries. This attempt was expressed by the conclusion of an agreement for collaboration and friendship between the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., Norway and Finland. The aim of this agreement was to strive for the creation of a single international, uniting all trade unions irrespective of tendency, but based on the class struggle. However, matters never proceeded beyond the conclusion of the agreement. Under pressure of the trade union leaders of Sweden and the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Norwegian trade union centre refused to ratify the agreement concluded with the A.U.C.C.T.U.

Of the more recent endeavours on the part of the Soviet trade unions to establish a united front and trade union unity, the following are the most noteworthy:

In March 1935 the A.U.C.C.T.U. supported the proposal made by the Red International of Labour Unions to the International Federation of Trade Unions for a joint struggle against fascism and war. The International Federation of Trade Unions rejected this proposal.

In October of that same year the International Federation of Trade Unions for the first time in its entire existence turned to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions with the proposal to support the decisions of the joint session of the Second International and the I.F.T.U. in connection with the predatory onslaught of Italian fascism upon Abyssinia. These decisions declared that it would be necessary "to place at the disposal of the League of Nations, for the defence of peace and right, the might of the workers' opinion and the force of the workers' organizations."

However, these decisions, adopted without the knowledge and participation of the A.U.C.C.T.U., could not satisfy it. The A.U.C.C.T.U. considered that besides supporting the League of Nations, the international labour movement also had to wage an independent struggle against war, and that the most effective means for this end would be the establishment of a united front and trade union unity.

Such was the spirit in which the A.U.C.C.T.U. answered the I.F.T.U., proposing also to convene a conference of representa-

lives of both trade union internationals and of the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., England and France to discuss issues of the fight against fascism and war. This proposal, just as all past proposals of the A.U.C.C.T.U. to the I.F.T.U., was also rejected.

In July 1936, the Sixth Congress of the I.F.T.U. met in London. This Congress was distinguished from all other previous congresses of the I.F.T.U. by the fact that for the first time it was attended by representatives of a country where the unity of the formerly split trade union movement had been effected. This country was France, where shortly before the Congress, upon the initiative of the revolutionary trade unions, which had met with a lively response from the members of all trade union organizations, a single General Confederation of Labour was established, uniting in its ranks the organized workers of all trends.

The experience gained in France has shown better than words that trade union unity on a national scale is possible if there is a clear understanding of the tasks confronting the working class in face of the menace of fascism and the danger of a new war. It goes without saying that this experience could not but raise before the congress of the I.F.T.U. the question of international trade union unity. Upon the initiative of representatives of France, Mexico and a number of other countries this question was raised, and the Congress was obliged to give a reply to it. After a long fight the Congress adopted a decision "to open negotiations with the trade unions of the U.S.A., Australia and the U.S.S.R. on the question of international trade union unity."

However, the leaders of the I.F.T.U. violated this decision of the Congress. Although they sent a delegation to the U.S.A. to carry on negotiations with the American Federation of Labour, they openly violated the decision about carrying on negotiations with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, confining themselves merely to mailing a letter to the A.U.C.C.T.U., proposing that it "join the International Federation of Trade Unions"—as if the A.U.C.C.T.U. were not the most powerful trade union centre in the world, uniting over twenty million members and existing under a Socialist system, a trade union centre with which it was necessary to agree beforehand.

One year later, at the end of June 1937, the question of the Soviet trade unions came up again at the session of the General Council of the I.F.T.U. held in Warsaw. After long discussion and speeches of a number of delegates (Holland, Czechoslovakia,

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Switzerland and Poland) against any kind of contact with the Soviet trade unions, the General Council adopted the decision to send the resolution of the London Congress to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

At the beginning of July 1937 the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions officially notified the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions about the decision of the Warsaw session of the General Council, forwarding the resolution of the London Congress. On August 15 the A.U.C.C.T.U. replied that it was willing to open negotiations on the establishment of international trade union unity and invited a delegation to come to Moscow.

After having considered the letter of the A.U.C.C.T.U. at its session of September 15-16, the Executive Committee of the I.F.T.U. *decided to enter into negotiations with the Soviet trade unions.* A delegation consisting of Leon Jouhaux, Schevenelles and Stoltz was elected for the purpose, the A.U.C.C.T.U. being notified that negotiations could begin on November 22-27 in one of the European centres.

On October 9, 1937, the A.U.C.C.T.U. replied to this proposal of the I.F.T.U., declaring that this date for the negotiations was acceptable. With regard to the place for the negotiations, in view of the approaching elections to the Supreme Soviet, making it impossible for the leading officers of the Soviet trade unions to leave the country at the moment, the A.U.C.C.T.U. invited the delegation to come to Moscow for the negotiations.

2. The Soviet Trade Unions and the Struggle Against Fascism, for Peace

The advent of German fascism to power acutely changed the whole international situation. In the central part of Europe, in one of the most cultured States—the homeland of a great people that has given the world many brilliant leaders of the labour movement, science and art—brutal barbarians, the bearers of the most unbridled violence and obscurantism, seized power, making great bonfires of the best works of world literature on the city squares, imprisoning and driving from the land the best and foremost men and women.

Fascism means war. The broad popular masses are beginning to see whither the incendiary, provocative policy of Germany and Italy in the West and of Japan in the East leads. The phantom of war, like a black cloud, is spreading not only over Europe, but

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over the whole world. The resentment of the broad popular masses against the instigators of war is growing, and so also is their striving to ward off all war provocations. A mighty movement is developing against fascism, for peace.

And in this movement the Soviet trade unions take active part.

The U.S.S.R. wants peace. The U.S.S.R. does not want territorial conquests or plunder. "We do not want a single foot of foreign territory; but we will not surrender a single inch of our territory to anyone." (*Stalin.*) True to its principles, the U.S.S.R. has been pursuing a consistent policy of peace, answering the interests of Socialist construction and meeting with the warm response of the toiling masses and advanced people of all lands.

The Soviet trade unions fully support the peace policy of the Soviet Government. They also support all measures of the League of Nations directed towards diminishing the danger of war, towards keeping the appetites of the fascist aggressors in check.

At the same time, the Soviet trade unions participate in those international organizations which set themselves the aim of fighting against fascism, for peace. The A.U.C.C.T.U. unconditionally joined the International Committee of Struggle Against Fascism and War. The A.U.C.C.T.U. participates in the International Movement for Peace, uniting, besides the trade unions, numerous other organizations as well as individual adherents of peace.

The Soviet delegation, headed by the Secretary of the A.U.C.C.T.U., Comrade Shvernik, actively collaborated with all peace advocates at the First International Peace Congress, held in Brussels in September 1936. In his speeches at the plenum of the congress and before the trade union commission Comrade Shvernik clearly and exhaustively elucidated the policy of the Soviet trade unions on the question of the struggle for peace. Comrade Shvernik again emphasized the firm conviction of the Soviet trade unions, expressing the opinion not only of the twenty million organized workers, but of the entire working population of the U.S.S.R., that one of the most effective weapons in the fight against war is unity of the international labour movement. Comrade Shvernik also advanced the idea of "proletarian sanctions" against the aggressor, the violator of peace. This idea was supported by a number of the delegates of the congress and met with the sympathy of the broad masses of working people in all countries. But the leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions turned a deaf ear to

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these proposals, made on behalf of the millions of working people of the U.S.S.R.

3. International Solidarity of the Soviet Trade Unions

The feeling of international proletarian solidarity is deeply ingrained in the working class of the U.S.S.R. and its trade unions. This feeling finds its expression in the strivings of the Soviet workers to establish a rapprochement with the workers of other countries for waging a joint struggle against war and fascism, for Socialism. It also finds its expression in the great solidarity campaigns launched in the U.S.S.R. every time an important event occurs in the international labour movement.

Let us give but a few examples of this solidarity.

In January 1923 France dispatched its troops to the Ruhr District with the aim of getting reparations and placing even greater burdens on the backs of the German workers. In reply to this the Soviet workers organized collections of money and grain for the Ruhr proletariat. Five hundred thousand poods* of grain were sent by the workers of Soviet Russia to their class brothers in Germany.

Another example, already mentioned above, was the collection of funds for the British workers during the general strike of 1926. The Soviet trade unions sent the strikers eleven million gold rubles.

But the mightiest demonstration of international solidarity on the part of the Soviet workers was the movement for rendering aid to the valiant fighters of Republican Spain, defending their country against the rebel generals and foreign fascist plunderers.

Upon the initiative of the women workers of the Dzerzhinsky Trekhgornaya Textile Mill in Moscow, collections of money for the purchase of food for the women and children of Republican Spain were started throughout the country. Workers, office employees, collective farmers, artists, actors, writers, physicians and scientists willingly and gladly contributed their share to the fund of solidarity with the Spanish people, organized by the A.U.C.C.T.U. And collections are still continuing. In many factories and institutions large groups of workers pledged to fulfil the following task of honour: to contribute a certain amount of their wages monthly for the women and children of the heroic Spanish Republic, until complete victory is won by the Spanish people over

* One pood=36 pounds

the fascist insurgents and foreign interventionists. Thousands of children of the Spanish people have been brought to the U.S.S.R. from the various cities of Spain that were destroyed by the German and Italian fascist interventionists, and they are now being maintained in kindergartens, rest homes and health resorts on funds collected by the Soviet trade unions.

This mighty upsurge of solidarity reflects the genuine proletarian internationalism, so vividly expressed by Comrade Stalin, who in his telegram to José Diaz, declared before the whole world:

"The toilers of the Soviet Union are merely fulfilling their duty by rendering every assistance to the revolutionary masses of Spain. They realize that the liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private cause of the Spaniards alone, but is the common cause of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind."

4 The Soviet Trade Unions and Foreign Workers' Delegations

From the very first years of the Revolution numerous workers' delegations from various capitalist countries began to visit the Soviet Union, in order to see with their own eyes the new, Socialist system, the system where there is no exploitation of man by man, the Socialist fatherland of the world proletariat. The Soviet trade unions always considered it their proletarian duty to extend a fraternal welcome to these delegations; to receive them as their best guests, to acquaint them with the achievements of Socialist construction, with the life and work of the Soviet working people with the tasks and structure of the trade union organizations, etc.

It is already a sort of tradition for the A.U.C.C.T.U. to invite workers' delegations from the capitalist countries to the U.S.S.R. every year for the May and November holidays. The delegates are given every opportunity to visit enterprises, collective farms, cultural establishments, hospitals, sanatoriums. They visit the homes of workers, Palaces of Culture, sports stadiums. They are received by the leaders of the Soviet State. They speak with workers, office employees and specialists, and on the basis of personal observations they learn the truth about the U.S.S.R., become convinced that the Socialist system has taken firm root in the Land of the Soviets, that the standard of living of the millions of working people is steadily and rapidly rising, both materially and culturally.

Thousands of delegates representing the workers of the capitalist countries have visited the U.S.S.R. during the years of Soviet

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rule. Their own statements, declarations and letters, in which they express their delight in and admiration of all they had seen in the U.S.S.R., their profound solidarity with the Soviet working people, speak best of all about the impressions they received.

Through the medium of the foreign workers' delegations, through the many tourist workers who visit the U.S.S.R., the Soviet trade unions strengthen their connections with the proletariat of the capitalist countries, with the international labour movement.

In his report to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1925, Comrade Stalin said:

"Name another State, be it the most democratic, which would agree to give itself up to the fraternal control of workers' delegations from other countries. You will not name such a State, for there is no such State in the world. Only our State the State of the workers and peasants, can agree to such a step."

These words of the great leader of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. best of all characterize the genuine Socialist nature of the Soviet State, the profound spirit of internationalism with which the Soviet toilers are imbued, and the significance which they attach to foreign workers' delegations.

5. *The Soviet Trade Unions and the Red International of Labour Unions*

While the leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions took a hostile attitude toward the October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet trade unions, among the broad masses and in the ranks of many trade union organizations of the capitalist countries sympathy for the U.S.S.R. and its trade union organizations grew from day to day. That was why as early as 1920 a number of trade union delegations came to Moscow from England, Italy, France, Germany, Bulgaria, Spain and other countries, with a view to establishing contact with the Soviet trade unions. After joint discussion of the conditions, tasks and prospects of the international trade union movement, it was decided to set up the International Trade Union Council for co-ordinating the action and struggle of all elements and trade union organizations adhering to the line of the class struggle.

At the first congress of the revolutionary trade unions of the whole world (1921) the Red International of Labour Unions was formed. Having been the initiator in establishing the revolutionary

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Trade Union International and representing its most powerful section, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions systematically and untiringly fought, both through the Red International of Labour Unions and independently, for the creation of a single Trade Union International. This single International was to have united both the trade unions affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red International of Labour Unions, as well as trade unions outside the ranks of both of these Internationals. Time and again the Soviet trade unions stressed this policy at All-Union Congresses of the trade unions and at the Plenums of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Had the International Federation of Trade Unions accepted the proposal of the trade unions of the U S S R, the international labour movement would have long since been united in one Trade Union International, with a membership of over 40,000,000 organized workers, which could have tremendously strengthened the international labour movement in its fight against fascism and war

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Despite the resistance of a number of reformist trade union leaders, the fraternal bond between the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of the capitalist countries, between the Soviet trade unions and the international trade union movement, is extending and growing stronger. And this makes it possible to say with full confidence that international trade union unity, for which the Soviet trade unions are fighting, and which, as the experiences of France and Spain have shown, is one of the bases of the popular anti-fascist front, can and will be achieved at all cost

